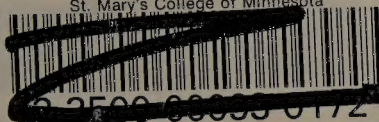


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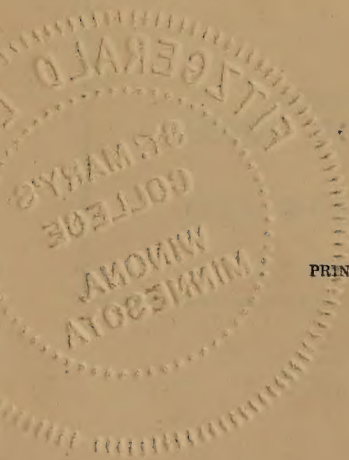
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## HERODOTUS

IV

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
BOOK VIII . . . . .	1
BOOK IX . . . . .	157
INDEX . . . . .	303
MAPS—SALAMIS . . . . .	<i>At end</i>
BATTLEFIELD OF PLATAEA . . . . .	"





## INTRODUCTION

THE following is a brief analysis of the contents of Books VIII and IX, based on the summary in Stein's edition :—

### BOOK VIII

Ch. 1–5. The Greek fleet at Artemisium ; question of supreme command ; bribery of Themistocles by the Euboeans.

Ch. 6–14. Despatch of a Persian squadron to sail round Euboea, and its destruction by a storm. Effect of the storm on the rest of the Persian fleet ; first encounter between the two fleets.

Ch. 15–17. Second battle off Artemisium.

Ch. 18–23. Retreat of the Greeks ; Themistocles' attempt to tamper with the Ionians ; Persian occupation of Euboea.

Ch. 24–33. Visit of Persian sailors to the field of Thermopylae. Olympic festival (26). Feuds of Thessalians and Phocians ; Persian advance through Phocis (27–33).

Ch. 34–39. Persian march through Boeotia, and unsuccessful attempt upon Delphi.

Ch. 40–48. Abandonment of Attica by the Athenians ; the Greek fleet at Salamis.

Ch. 49–55. Greek council of war ; Persian invasion of Attica and occupation of Athens.

## INTRODUCTION

Ch. 56-64. Greek design to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus of Corinth. Decision to remain at Salamis, by Themistocles' advice.

Ch. 65. Dicaeus' vision near Eleusis.

Ch. 66-69. Persian fleet at Phalerum; advice given by Artemisia in a council of war.

Ch. 70-73. Greek fortification of the Isthmus. Digression on the various Peloponnesian nationalities.

Ch. 74-82. Unwillingness of the Peloponnesians to remain at Salamis. Themistocles' design to compel them; his message to Xerxes, and Persian movement to encircle the Greeks. Announcement of this by Aristides.

Ch. 83-96. Battle of Salamis.

Ch. 97-99. Xerxes' intention to retreat; news at Susa of the capture of Athens and the battle of Salamis.

Ch. 100-102. Advice given to Xerxes by Mardonius and Artemisia.

Ch. 103-106. Story of the revenge of Hermotimus.

Ch. 107-110. Flight of Persian fleet, and Greek pursuit as far as Andros; Themistocles' message to Xerxes.

Ch. 111, 112. Siege of Andros, and demands made by Themistocles on various islands.

Ch. 113. Mardonius' selection of his army.

Ch. 114-120. Incidents in Xerxes' retreat.

Ch. 121-125. Greek division of spoil and assignment of honours; Themistocles' reception at Sparta.

Ch. 126-129. Artabazus' capture of Olynthus and siege of Potidaea, during the winter.

Ch. 130-132. Greek and Persian fleets at Aegina and Samos respectively (spring of 479). Leutychides' command. Message to the Greeks from the Ionians.

## INTRODUCTION

Ch. 133-135. Mardonius' consultation of Greek oracles.

Ch. 136-139. Mission to Athens of Alexander of Macedonia; origin of his dynasty.

Ch. 140-144. Speeches at Athens of Alexander and the Spartan envoys; Athenian answer to both.

## BOOK IX

Ch. 1-5. Mardonius in Attica; his fresh proposals to the Athenians.

Ch. 6-11. Hesitation of the Spartans to send troops; appeals made by the Athenians; eventual despatch of a force.

Ch. 12-15. Argive warning to Mardonius; his march to Megara and withdrawal thence to Boeotia.

Ch. 16-18. Story of a banquet at Thebes, and Mardonius' test of a Phocian contingent.

Ch. 19-25. The Greeks at Erythrae; repulse of Persian cavalry attack, and death of its leader; Greek change of position.

Ch. 26-27. Rival claim of Tegeans and Athenians for the post of honour.

Ch. 28-32. Battle array of Greek and Persian armies.

Ch. 33-37. Stories of the diviners in the two armies.

Ch. 38-43. Persian attack on a Greek convoy; Mardonius' council of war and determination to fight.

Ch. 44-51. Alexander's warning to the Athenians; attempted change of Greek and Persian formation; Mardonius' challenge to the Spartans, and retreat of Greeks to a new position.

## INTRODUCTION

Ch. 52-57. Flight of the Greek centre; Amompharetus' refusal to change his ground.

Ch. 58-65. Battle of Plataea; initial success of Spartans and Tegeans.

Ch. 66-69. Flight of Artabazus; Athenian success against the Boeotians; disaster to part of the Greek army.

Ch. 70-75. Assault and capture of the Persian fortified camp. Distinctions of various Greek fighters.

Ch. 76-79. Pausanias' reception of the Coan female suppliant; the Mantineans and Eleans after the battle; Lampon's proposal to Pausanias and his reply.

Ch. 80-85. Greek division of the spoil and burial of the dead.

Ch. 86-89. Siege of Thebes and punishment of Theban leaders; retreat of Artabazus.

Ch. 90-95. Envoys from Samos with the Greek fleet. Story of the diviner Euenius.

Ch. 96-105. Movements preliminary to the battle of Mycale, and Greek victory there.

Ch. 106, 107. Greek deliberation at Samos; quarrel between Persian leaders.

Ch. 108-113. Story of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, and the fate of his brother Masistes.

Ch. 114-121. Capture of Sestus by the Greeks; sacrilege of Artayctes, and his execution.

Ch. 122. Cyrus' advice to the Persians to prefer hardship to comfort.

In the eighth and ninth books the central subjects are the battles of Salamis and Plataea respectively. Herodotus describes the preliminaries of Salamis,



## INTRODUCTION

and both the operations prior to Plataea and the actual battle, with much detail; and his narrative has given rise to a good deal of controversy. Sometimes it is difficult to reconcile his story with the facts of geography. Sometimes, it is alleged, he is contradicted by the only other real authority for the sea fight at Salamis, Aeschylus. More often, he is said to sin against the laws of probability. He makes generals and armies do things which are surprising; and this is alleged to detract from his credit; for a historian, who allows generals and armies to disregard known rules of war, is plainly suspect, and at best the dupe of camp gossip, if not animated by partiality or even malice.

As to the battle of Salamis, a mere translator has no desire to add greatly to the literature of controversy. But it is worth while to review Herodotus' account. On the day before the battle, the Persian fleet, apparently, lay along the coast of Attica, its eastern wing being near Munychia; the Greeks being at Salamis, opposite to and rather less than a mile distant from Xerxes' ships. During the night, Persian ships were detached to close the two entrances of the straits between the mainland and Salamis. At dawn of the following day, the Greeks rowed out and made a frontal attack on the Persians facing them.

This account is questioned by the learned, mainly on two grounds; firstly, because (it is alleged) the Persians, if they originally lay along the Attic coast, could not have closed the two entrances of the straits without the knowledge of the Greeks; secondly, because Herodotus' narrative differs from that given by Aeschylus, in the *Persae*, a play

## INTRODUCTION

produced only eight years after the battle. As to the first objection, the Persian manoeuvre was executed in darkness, and by small vessels, not modern battleships: it is surely not incredible that the Greeks should have been unaware of its full execution. As to the second ground of criticism,—that Herodotus and Aeschylus do not agree, and that Aeschylus must be held the better authority,—it still remains to be shown in what the alleged discrepancy consists. It is a fact which appears to escape the observation of the learned that Aeschylus is writing a poetic drama, and not a despatch. His manner of telling the story certainly differs from that of Herodotus; but the facts which he relates appear to be the same: and in all humility I cannot but suggest that if commentators would re-read their Herodotus and their Aeschylus in parallel columns, without (if this be not too much to ask) an *a priori* desire to catch Herodotus tripping, some of them, at least, would eventually be able to reconcile the historian with the tragedian. For Aeschylus nowhere contradicts what is apparently the view of Herodotus,—that the Persians, or their main body, lay along the Attic coast opposite Salamis when the Greeks sailed out to attack them. Messrs. How and Wells (*quos honoris causa nomino*) say that this was probably not so, because, according to Aeschylus, “some time” elapsed before the Persians could see the Greek advance, and the strait is only one thousand five hundred yards wide. But as a matter of fact, Aeschylus does not say that some time elapsed. His expression is *θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν*—“*quickly* they were all plain to view.”

## INTRODUCTION

Herodotus' narrative of the manœuvres of Mardonius' and Pausanias' armies near Plataea is, like most descriptions of battles, not always very clear. It is full of detail; but as some of the localities mentioned cannot be quite certainly identified, the details are not always easy to understand; and it must be confessed that there are gaps in the story. For instance, we must presume (though meritorious efforts are made to explain the statement away) that Herodotus means what he says when he asserts in Ch. 15 that Mardonius' army occupied the ground "from Erythrae past Hysiae"; the Persians, therefore, were then on the right bank of the Asopus; yet soon afterwards they are, according to the historian's equally plain statement, on the left bank. Hence there are real obscurities; and the narrative is not without picturesque and perhaps rather surprising incidents; which some commentators (being rather like M. About's gendarme, persons whose business it is to see that nothing unusual happens in the locality) promptly dismiss as "camp gossip." Altogether, what with obscurity and camp gossip, scholars have given themselves a fairly free hand to reconstruct the operations before Plataea as they must have happened—unless indeed "someone had blundered," an hypothesis which, apparently, ought only to be accepted in the very last resort, and hardly then if its acceptance implies Herodotus' veracity. Reconstruction of history is an amusing game, and has its uses, especially in places of education, where it is played with distinguished success; yet one may still doubt whether rejection of what after all is our only real authority brings the public any nearer to

## INTRODUCTION

knowing what did actually happen. Strategists and tacticians do make mistakes; thus, generally, are battles lost and won; and unreasonable incidents do occur. However, it is fair to say that most of the reconstruction of Salamis and Plataea was done before August, 1914.

But here, as elsewhere in his history, Herodotus' authority is much impaired by the presumption, popular since Plutarch, of a pro-Athenian bias which leads him to falsify history by exaggerating the merit of Athens at the expense of other states, especially Sparta. Now we may readily believe that if Herodotus lived for some time at Athens, he was willing enough to do ample justice to her achievements; but if he is to be charged with undue and unjust partiality, and consequent falsification, then it must be shown that the conduct which he attributes to Athens and to Sparta is somehow not consistent with what one would naturally expect, from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know, *aliunde*, about those two states. Scholars who criticise Herodotus on grounds of probability ought to be guided by their own canon. If a historian is to be discredited where his narrative does not accord with what is antecedently probable, then he must be allowed to gain credit where antecedent probability is on his side; and there is nothing in Herodotus' account of Athenian and Spartan actions during the campaigns of 480 and 479 which disagrees with the known character of either people. *Pace* the socialistic conception of an unrelieved similarity among all states and individuals, the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., were an exceptional people; their record is not precisely the



## INTRODUCTION

record of Boeotia or Arcadia; it seems fair to say, without appealing to Herodotus' testimony, that they were more gifted, and more enterprising, than most. The spirit of the Hellenic world is general,—intense local patriotism, intense fear and hatred of Oriental absolutism and strange worships,—was more alive among the Athenians, probably, than in any other Greek state. Sparta also had her share of these qualities; she too would make no terms with the Persian; only her methods of resistance were different. Primarily, each state was interested in its own safety. To Spartans—disinclined to methods other than traditional, and as yet unaccustomed to naval warfare—it seemed that Sparta could be best defended by blocking the land access to the Peloponnese; they would defend the Isthmus successfully, as they had tried and failed to defend Thermopylae. This meant, of course, the sacrifice of Attica; and naturally that was a sacrifice not to be made willingly by Athenians. Their only chance of saving or recovering Attica lay in fighting a naval action close to its coasts; nay, the abandonment of Salamis meant the exposure of their dependents to fresh dangers; therefore, they pressed for the policy of meeting and defeating the Persian where he lay by the Attic coast. This policy was to prove successful; and thereby, the Athenians incidentally accomplished what was undoubtedly also their object, the salvation of Hellas; but the primary purpose of both Sparta and Athens, both before Salamis and before Plataea (when the Athenians were naturally displeased by a plan which left Attica a prey to the enemy) was undoubtedly to do the best they could for themselves.

## INTRODUCTION

This, in fact, was always the desire of all Greek states, as of most others in the history of the world; and as the actions of both Athens and Sparta were the natural outcome of that desire, there is no need to suspect Herodotus of unduly favouring the Athenians when he credits them with the plans which led to victory, or of unduly disparaging the Spartans when he describes their delays and hesitations before their march to Boeotia.

If the charge of an excessively pro-Athenian bias is to be sustained, it must be shown that Herodotus is prone to deny credit to the great rival of Athens. But there is no evidence of that. Sparta receives full measure from Herodotus. No Spartan could conceivably have been dissatisfied with the chapters on Thermopylae. Plataea is represented as a Spartan victory; it was the Spartans and Tegeans who in Herodotus' story were the real heroes of the day; the glory of winning "the greatest victory ever won" is definitely given to the Spartan commander-in-chief. On the other hand Themistocles, the typical Athenian, is treated with a severity which even appears to be rather gratuitous. It is true that Herodotus does not take pains to praise two other Greek states which at various times were at feud with Athens. He tells us that the Thebans "medized," a fact which has not, I believe, been denied, even by Plutarch; it is difficult to see what else he could have said. True, he reports a damaging story about the Corinthians and their failure to take part in the action of Salamis; but he adds, in his candid way, that nobody believes the story outside Attica.

The hypothesis of Herodotus' "obvious pro-

## INTRODUCTION

Athenian bias" is one which is bound to appeal to readers who are laudably afraid of being led away by hero-worship; but it has one fault—it lacks evidence.

With the crowning victory of Mycale, where for the first time a Persian army was defeated by a Greek within the boundaries of the Persian empire, the history of the war comes to an end. But the chapters which conclude Book IX are no anti-climax; they are congruous with the whole, part and parcel of the narrative, and as striking an example of Herodotus' supreme art as any passage in his history. What was it after all (a reader might be supposed to ask) that nerved most of the Greeks to resist Darius' and Xerxes' powerful armaments? The answer is plain; it was fear of the caprice and cruelty of Oriental despots, and desire to protect Greek temples from sacrilege. These concluding chapters illustrate and justify the Greek temper. The methods of Persian absolutism are vividly portrayed in the gruesome story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death; and the crucified body of Artaxerxes, the defiler of temples, hangs by the Hellespontian shore, overlooking the scene of Xerxes' proudest achievement and display, as a warning to all sacrilegious invaders; so perish all who lay impious hands on the religion of Hellas! . . . The story is now complete. The play is played; and in the last chapter of the book, Cyrus the great protagonist of the drama is called before the curtain to speak its epilogue.

[Besides the authorities enumerated at the beginning of Vol. I of this translation, the following

## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ



1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἶδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔοντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετρίεες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ.

2. Ἦσαν μὲν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἰρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδew.

# HERODOTUS

## BOOK VIII

1. THE Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but of mere valour and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, and the Megarians twenty; and the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; and the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

2. These were they who came to Artemisium for battle, and I have now shown how they severally furnished the whole sum. The number of ships that mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy one, besides the fifty-oared barks. But the admiral who had the chief command was of the Spartans' providing, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides;



οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρατεύμα.

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ εἰς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὥς διέδεξαν· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausanίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι ἀπέειπον τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὥς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας εἰς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὥς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδῳ προσμείναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα

<sup>1</sup> After the capture of Byzantium in 476 B.C.

for the allies said, that if the Laconian were not their leader they would rather make an end of the fleet that was preparing than be led by the Athenians.

3. For in the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance ~~there~~, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. But when the allies withstood this, the Athenians waived their claim, deeming the safety of Hellas of prime moment, and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership Hellas must perish; wherein they judged rightly; for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others, as was shown; for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. But all that befel later.<sup>1</sup>

4. But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetae, and armaments everywhere, and contrary to all expectation the foreigner was shown to be in far other case than they had supposed; wherefore they lost heart and began to take counsel for flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. Then the Euboeans, seeing them to be thus planning, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves should have brought away their children and households. But when they could not prevail with him, they essayed another way, and gave Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of

ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

5. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ᾧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδού πεντετάλαντα ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδεΐμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὲ τούτου εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας “ Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμπειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους.” ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδην, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὲ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ᾧδε. ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρῶϊν γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὲ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἑλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ

## BOOK VIII. 4-6

thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

5. This was the way whereby [Themistocles made the Greeks to stay where they were.] he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though it were of his own that he gave it. Eurybiades being thus won over, none of the rest was of a resisting temper save only Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; to him said Themistocles, adding an oath thereto: "Nay, you of [all men will not desert us; for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes] would send you for deserting your allies"; and with that saying he sent withal three talents of silver to Adimantus' ship. So these two were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got their desire, and Themistocles himself was the gainer; he kept the rest of the money, none knowing, but they that had received a part of it supposing that it had been sent for that intent by the Athenians.

6. So the Greeks abode off Euboea and there fought; and it came about as I shall show. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the foreigners saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack, that so they might take them. Now they were not yet minded to make an onfall front to front, for fear lest the Greeks should see them coming and take to flight, [and night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and by the

πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἕξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσai Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐρίπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἕξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὡς ἠκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμόν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἕξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδῶκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης



## BOOK VIII. 6-8

Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer<sup>1</sup> of them must be saved alive.

7. Wherefore this was the plan that they devised. Separating two hundred ships from the whole number, they sent them to cruise outside Sciathus (that so the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea) and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus, so that they might catch the Greeks between them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. Thus planning, they sent the appointed ships on their way, purposing for themselves to make no attack upon the Greeks that day, nor before the signal should be seen whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about numbering the rest at Aphetae.

8. Now at the time of their numbering the ships, there was in the fleet one Scyllias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and won much withal for himself; this Scyllias had ere now, it would seem, purposed to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. By what means he did thereafter at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say; but if the story be true it is marvellous indeed; for it is said that he dived into the sea at Aphetae and never rose above it till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about eighty furlongs.

<sup>1</sup> The *πυρφόρος* carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.

## HERODOTUS

διεξελθών. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν.

9. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ὅρωντες δὲ σφέας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρώντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὀρώντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὅκως

There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. Having then come, [he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.]

9. Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much speaking, but the opinion prevailed that they should abide and encamp where they were for that day, and thereafter when it should be past midnight put to sea and meet the ships that were sailing round. But presently, none attacking them, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the foreigner, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line.<sup>1</sup>

10. When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they deemed them assuredly mad, and themselves put out to sea, thinking to win an easy victory; which expectation was very reasonable, as they saw the Greek ships so few, and their own many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. Now as many Ionians as were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war, and were sore distressed to see the Greeks surrounded, supposing that not one of them would return home; so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. But those who were glad of the business vied each with each that he might be the first to take an

<sup>1</sup> For the διέκπλους see Bk. VI. ch. 12.

αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἔλων παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμπεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὥς ἐσήμνηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἶχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχροίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μούνος τῶν σὺν βασιλείῃ Ἑλλήνων ἔόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

12. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγένετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς τάρσους τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ

Attic ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

11. But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, albeit they were hemmed in within a narrow space and fought front to front. There they took thirty of the foreigners' ships and the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis withal, even Philaon son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. [The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschraeus, and he it was who received the prize for valour. They fought that seafight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle; the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the foreigners to Aphetae, after faring far below their hopes in the fight.] In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos deserted to the Greeks, alone of all the Greeks that were with the king; and for that the Athenians gave him lands in Salamis.

12. When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion; and the dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetae, where they were entangled with the ships' prows and fouled the blades of the oars. The ships' companies that were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and looked in their present evil case for utter destruction; for before they were



χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταί τε σκληραί.

13. Καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νύξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἡ αὐτὴ περ' ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποίετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶη.

14. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλῃσι ἐπεβοήθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθοῦσα, ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

15. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες,

recovered after the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next must abide a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunderings.

13. Thus did the night deal with them; but to those that were appointed to sail round Euboea that same night was much crueller yet, inasmuch as it caught them on the open sea; and an evil end they had. For the storm and the rain coming on them in their course off the Hollows of Euboea, [they were driven by the wind they knew not whither, and were cast upon the rocks. All this was the work of heaven's providence, that so the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it.]

14. So these perished at the Hollows of Euboea. But the foreigners at Aphetae, when to their great comfort the day dawned, kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the nonce; and fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, who were heartened by the ships' coming and the news brought withal that the foreigners sailing round Euboea had all perished in the late storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and putting to sea fell upon certain Cilician ships; which having destroyed, when darkness came on, they returned back to Artemisium.

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the

οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὥς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς.

16. Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανέπλεόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρήμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

17. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἡρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ

Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. [And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae.] the seamen's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

16. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. For [Xerxes' fleet wrought itself harm by its numbers and multitude; the ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other] nevertheless they held fast, nor yielded, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. Many were the Greek ships and men that there perished, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; thus they battled, till they drew off and parted each from other.

17. [In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians bore themselves best] besides other great feats of arms that they achieved, they took five Greek ships and their crews withal. [Of the Greeks on that day the Athenians bore themselves best.]

Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκίῃ νηί.

18. Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον ἠπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἰοί τε εἶησαν ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἐωυτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάξαντο ὡς παρε-



and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades; he brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his private charges.

18. So they parted and each right gladly made haste to his own anchorage. When the Greeks had drawn off and come out of the battle, they were left masters of the dead and the wrecks; but they had had rough handling, and chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered hurt; and now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas.<sup>1</sup>

19. Themistocles bethought him that if the Ionian and Carian nations were rent away from the foreigners, the Greeks might be strong enough to get the upper hand of the rest. Now it was the wont of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Wherefore gathering the admirals together he told them that he thought he had a device whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king's allies. So much he revealed for the nonce; but in the present turn of affairs this (he said) they must do: [let everyone slay as many as he would from the Euboean flocks; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy.] Moreover he counselled them each to bid his men to light a fire; as for the time of their going thence, he would take such thought for that as should bring them scathless to Hellas. All this they agreed to do; and forthwith they lit fires and then laid hands on the flocks.

20. For the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, deeming it void of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had

<sup>1</sup> This means, I suppose, to the seas nearer their homes.

σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὦδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

φράζεο, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα  
βάλλῃ  
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας  
αἶγας.

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρεούσιν τε καὶ προσδοκίμοις κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφυρῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσαν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἔτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι. ὥς δ' αὕτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἔτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὥς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπόρευετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια

they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruction; for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

“Whenso a strange-tongued man on the waves  
casts yoke of papyrus,  
Then let bleating goats from coasts Euboean be  
banished.”

To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they could not but heed their dire calamity.

21. While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them the watcher from Trachis. For there was a watcher at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready therefor), if the fleet should be at grips, to declare it to the men at Thermopylae; and in like manner, if any ill should befall the land army, Abronichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. [So this Abronichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army; which when the Greeks learnt, they no longer delayed their departure,] but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first, and last of all the Athenians.

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said; “Men of Ionia, you do wrongly

## HERODOTUS

ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστί τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γέγονατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε." Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

23. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖον ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἑόντων, Ξέρξης ἐτοι-

to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It were best of all that you should join yourselves to us; but if that be impossible for you, then do you even now withdraw yourselves from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be, and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we pray you not to use your full strength in the day of battle; be mindful that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the foreigner was of your making in the beginning." To my thinking Themistocles thus wrote with a double intent, that if the king knew nought of the writing it might make the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, and that if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians, and keep them out of the sea-fights.

23. Such was Themistocles' writing. Immediately after this there came to the foreigners a man of Histiaea in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in ward, and sent swift ships to spy out the matter; and when the crews of these brought word of the truth, on learning that, the whole armada at the first spreading of sunlight sailed all together to Artemisium, where having waited till midday, they next sailed to Histiaea, and on their coming took possession of the Histiaeans' city, and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopi<sup>1</sup>an region, which is the land of Histiaea.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

<sup>1</sup> The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaea.



## HERODOTUS

μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε εἰς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὑφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὥς δὲ διέβη εἰς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κῆρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἤλπισαν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι.”

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἠθέλου θεήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεύντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὀρώντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἳ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἁλᾶς συγκεκομισμένοι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θῆν ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἳ μὲν ἀπέπλεον εἰς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἳ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην εἰς ὁδὸν ὀρμέατο.

26. Ἦκον δὲ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκადίης ὀλίγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους εἰς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν

to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. [Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them.] So when the herald had crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king's power."

25. After this proclamation, there was nought so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who would see the sight. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead; and all of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though there were the helots also for them to see. Yet for all that they that crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead; for indeed the thing was laughable; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. All that day they spent in seeing the sight; on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiaea, and Xerxes' army set forth on its march.

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what

Ἑλλήνων τί ποιεοίεν· εἰς δέ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἱ δέ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὦφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὼν στέφανον ἄλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. “Παπαῖ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἱ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.” τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο.

27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοῖ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυνώσας ἄνδρας ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> On the hypothesis, usually received till lately, that the games took place at the first full moon after the summer

the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. The Arcadians telling them that the Greeks were keeping the Olympic<sup>1</sup> festival and viewing sports and horse-races, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, wherefor they contended; and they told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Zounds, Mardonius, what manner of men are these that you have brought us to fight withal? 'tis not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying.

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, inasmuch as they bore an old grudge against them, and more than ever by reason of their latest disaster. For a few years before the king's expedition the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army, but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. For the Phocians being beleaguered on Parnassus and having with them the diviner Tellias of Elis, Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armour, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them

solstice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therna; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.

λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἴ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι ἱκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβησι ἀνακέαται.

28. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἐωντούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἢ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἑτάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

29. Τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε. “ὦ Φωκέες, ἥδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλεον αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ’ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ’ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα



slay whomsoever they should see not whitened.) The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae.

28. Thus had the beleaguered Phocians dealt with the Thessalian foot; and when the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country the Phocians did them mortal harm; they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars therein, covering which with earth, till all was like the rest of the ground, they awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on thinking to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars; whereby their horses' legs were broken.

29. These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians; and now they sent a herald with this message: "Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. We were ever formerly preferred before you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side; and now we are of such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands, ay, and yourselves enslaved withal. Nevertheless, though all rests with us, we bear you no ill-will for the past; pay us fifty talents of silver for what you

ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν.”

30. Ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠϋξον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελιομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίξειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδῶν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὥς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

32. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκῶν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδὴ δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ’ ἐωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς

did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land."

30. This was the Thessalians' offer. [The Phocians, and they alone of all that region, would not take the Persians' part, and that for no other reason (if I argue aright) than their hatred of the Thessalians.] [had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then methinks the Phocians would have stood for the Persians.] They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; that they could do like the Thessalians and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas.

31. This answer being returned to them, thereat the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the foreigner on his way. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; for there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian; this region is the motherland of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the foreigners did no harm at their invasion; for the people took the Persian part, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed.

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, the Phocians themselves they could not catch; for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people; thither they carried up their goods and themselves ascended to it, but the most of them made their way out of the country to

Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδήιουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἐρωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ τινες διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλῆθους.

34. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμβέβηκεν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονόειεν.

35. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμέατο

the Ozolian Locrians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaeian plain. [The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.]

33. Marching this way down the river Cephissus they ravaged all before them, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicaea, Neon, Pediea, Tritea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings; and there was then as now a place of divination there. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt; and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains, and did certain women to death by the multitude of their violators.

34. Passing Parapotamii the foreigners came to Panopea; and there their army parted asunder into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole people of Boeotia took the Persian part, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding being, that Xerxes might understand the Boeotians to be on the Persian side.

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the



ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεί Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιίην διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνευγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.

temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had ever spoken of them.

36. When the Delphians learnt all this they were sore afraid; and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or convey it away to another country. {But the god bade them move nothing, saying that he was able to protect his own.} On that hearing, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women oversea to Achaia; of the men, the most went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave,<sup>1</sup> and some escaped to Amphissa in Locris; in brief, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

37. Now when the foreigners drew nigh in their coming and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, that no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So

<sup>1</sup> In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjacent to Parnassus. The cave is "some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high" (How and Wells).

ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγένετο.

38. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πληθὸς τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιέοντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὥς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

39. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σύοι,

he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but [when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid.] Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. [For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.]

38. All this joining together struck panic into the foreigners; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number. The survivors (fled) straight to Boeotia. Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing.

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonus' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak. The rocks that fell<sup>1</sup> from Parnassus were yet to be

<sup>1</sup> "Among the olives in the glen below" the remains of the temple of Athene Pronaea "are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above" (How and Wells).

ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

40. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἴσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἀτάσχατον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζηναν ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἦκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς εἶναι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστί. αὕτη δὴ ἡ



seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whither their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

40. The Greek fleet, after it had left Artemisium came by the Athenians' entreaty to land at Salamis; the reason why the Athenians entreated them to put in there being, that they themselves might convey their children and women safe out of Attica, and moreover take counsel as to what they should do. For inasmuch as the present turn of affairs had disappointed their judgment they were now to hold a council; they had thought to find the whole Peloponnesian force awaiting the foreigners' attack in Boeotia, but now of that they found no whit, but learnt contrariwise that [the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus, and letting all else go] as deeming the defence of the Peloponnese to be of greatest moment. Learning this, they therefore entreated the fleet to put in at Salamis.

41. So the rest made sail thither, and the Athenians to their own country. Being there arrived they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereat most of them sent their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They made haste to convey all out of harm because they desired to be guided by the oracle, and for another reason, too, which was this: it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lives in their temple, to guard the acropolis; in proof whereof they do ever duly set out a honey-cake as a monthly offering for it; this

μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμου-  
μένη τότε ἦν ἄψανστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα  
τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυ-  
μότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ  
ἀπολελοιπυῖης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δέ σφι πάντα  
ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα  
κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρει καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθα-  
νόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ  
Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα  
προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ  
πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον  
καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν  
ἐπὴν ὧτος ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης  
ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος  
τοῦ βασιλῆιου ἑών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε  
καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἷδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοπον-  
νήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι,  
Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ  
ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυῶνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρεί-  
χοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ  
πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, εἶντες οὗτοι πλὴν  
Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ  
Ἑρинеοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα  
ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ  
Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος  
καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες.

44. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύ-  
οντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν  
πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδώ-  
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ

cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the [Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis.] When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

42. When the Greeks from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of their fleet also heard of it and gathered in from Troezen, the port of which, Pogon, had been named for their place of mustering; and the ships that mustered there were more by far than had fought at Artemisium, and came from more cities. Their admiral-in-chief was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryclides, a Spartan, yet not of the royal blood; but it was the Athenians who furnished by far the most and the sea-worthiest ships.

43. The Peloponnesians that were with the fleet were, firstly, the Lacedaemonians, with sixteen ships, and the Corinthians with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the people of Hermione three; all these, except the people of Hermione, were of Dorian and Macedonian stock, and had last come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The people of Hermione are Dryopians, driven by Heracles and the Malians from the country now called Doris.

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnese, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not

συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοι-  
 οὔδε τι πρήγμα· ἀπαλλασσόμενων τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὥς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα,  
 οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαιήν τῆς  
 Βοιωτίας χώρας πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν  
 οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλεί-  
 φθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων  
 τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί,  
 ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος  
 ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ  
 τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι  
 ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

45. Μεγαρέες δὲ τὸντὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο  
 καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἐπτὰ νέας  
 ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος  
 ἑόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρεί-  
 χοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι  
 νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐφύλασσαν,  
 τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι  
 ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριέες ἀπὸ  
 Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὔνομα ἦν  
 Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ'  
 Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἵκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριέες τὰς  
 ἐπτὰ· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κῆιοι τὰς  
 αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἑὸν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ  
 Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀπο-  
 πεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-

fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai<sup>1</sup>; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

45. The Megarians furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ampraciots brought seven ships to the fleet, and the Leucadians (who are of Dorian stock from Corinth) brought three.

46. Of the islanders, the Aeginetans furnished thirty. They had other ships, too, manned; but they used them to guard their own coasts, and fought at Salamis with the thirty that were most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus; their island was formerly called Oenone. After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with the twenty, and the Eretrians with the seven which had fought at Artemisium; they are Ionians; and next the Ceans, furnishing the same ships as before; they are of Ionian stock, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four ships; they had been sent by their townsmen to the Persians, like the rest of the

<sup>1</sup> That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.

τέων κατά περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθνιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἔοντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

47. Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτησι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἱ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρεῖς πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

48. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἔοντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἔοντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσiai καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

49. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλευόντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλούμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυ-



islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

47. All these aforesaid came to the war from countries nearer than Thesprotia and the river Acheron; for Thesprotia marches with the Ambraciots and Leucadians, who came from the lands farthest distant. Of those that dwell farther off than these, the men of Croton alone came to aid Hellas in its peril, and they with one ship, whereof the captain was Phaÿllus, a victor in the Pythian games. These Crotoniats are of Achæan blood.

48. All these furnished triremes for the fleet save the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared barks, the Melians (who are of Lacedæmonian stock) two, and the Siphnians and Seriphians (who are Ionians of Athenian lineage) one each. The whole number of the ships, besides the fifty-oared barks, was three hundred and seventy eight.

49. When the leaders from the cities aforementioned met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks

μαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέιτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔοντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

50. Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδήϊον. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἰλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἔοντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθειείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ ἡ Πυθίῃ σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον

were masters; of Attica they had no more hope; it was among other places that he bade them judge. Then the opinion of most of the speakers tended to the same conclusion, that they should sail to the Isthmus and do battle by sea for the safety of the Peloponnese, the reason which they alleged being this, that if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be beleaguered in an island, where no help could come to them; but off the Isthmus they could win to their own coasts.

50. While the Peloponnesian captains held this argument, there came a man of Athens, bringing news that the foreigner was arrived in Attica, and was wasting it all with fire. For the army which followed Xerxes through Boeotia had burnt the town of the Thespians (who had themselves left it and gone to the Peloponnese) and Plataea likewise, and was arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round. They burnt Thespia and Plataea because they learnt from the Thebans that those towns had not taken the Persian part.

51. Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be

ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὁλοτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἐλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἶρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

<sup>1</sup> In vii. 142.

impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.<sup>1</sup>

52. The Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them by shooting arrows wrapped in lighted tow at the barricade. There the Athenians defended themselves against their besiegers, albeit they were in extremity and their barricade had failed them; nor would they listen to the terms of surrender proposed to them by the Pisistratids, but defended themselves by counter-devices, chiefly by rolling great stones down on the foreigners when they assaulted the gates; insomuch that [for a long while Xerxes could not take the place, and knew not what to do.] *... ἀνὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*

53. But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, though the way led up a sheer cliff.<sup>2</sup> When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. [Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves

<sup>2</sup> Hdt.'s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. μέγαρον here = ἱρόν.

## HERODOTUS

ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευσον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχῶν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε εἰς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνω ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, εἰς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἰείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπο-



to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

54. Being now wholly master of Athens, Xerxes sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the next day after the messenger was sent he called together the Athenian exiles who followed in his train, and bade them go up to the acropolis and offer sacrifice after their manner, whether it was some vision seen of him in sleep that led him to give this charge, or that he repented of his burning of the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden.

55. I will now show wherefore I make mention of this: on that acropolis there is a shrine of Erechtheus the Earthborn (as he is called), wherein is an olive tree, and a salt-pool, which (as the Athenians say) were set there by Poseidon and Athene as tokens of their contention for the land.<sup>1</sup> Now it was so, that the olive tree was burnt with the temple by the foreigners; but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the temple, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the trunk; which thing they reported.

56. When it was told to the Greeks at Salamis what had befallen the Athenian acropolis, they were so panic-struck that some of their captains would not wait till the matter whereon they debated should be resolved, but threw themselves aboard their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those that were

<sup>1</sup> Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool; Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.

μένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

57. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὃ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμον καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε “Οὐτ’ ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνας, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ’ εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν.”

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλεί ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὃ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηρίζων ἐκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

59. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος·

left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

57. Themistocles then being returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what was the issue of their counsels. Learning from him that their plan was to sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, "Then," said Mnesiphilus, "if they put out to sea from Salamis, your ships will have no country left wherefor to fight; for everyone will betake himself to his own city, and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man, will be able to hold them, but the armament will be scattered abroad; and Hellas will perish by unwisdom. Nay, if there be any means thereto, go now and strive to undo this plan, if haply you may be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his purpose and so abide here."

58. This advice pleased Themistocles well; making no answer to Mnesiphilus, he went to Eurybiades' ship, and said that he would confer with him on a matter of their common interest. Eurybiades bidding him come aboard and say what he would, Themistocles sat by him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as it were of his own devising, and added much thereto, till he prevailed with the Spartan by entreaty to come out of his ship and assemble the admirals in their place of meeting.

59. They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter wherefor the generals were brought together, Themistocles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son

λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος. ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε “ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται.” ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη “Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται.”

60. Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρῳσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρούντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλον λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε. “Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεῦξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἣν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβαλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἣν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνη, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα·

of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

60. Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then, turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. [If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas.] But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: [firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the

ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἑκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπείας γνώμας.”

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὖτις ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρίς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἐὼν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἐωυτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἢ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἂν διηκόσiai νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμούς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. “Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσσαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἄλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσης, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς



Peloponnese as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus.] And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

61. Thus said Themistocles; but [Adimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, saying that a landless man should hold his peace, and that Eurybiades must not suffer one that had no city to vote.] let Themistocles (said he) have a city at his back ere he took part in council,—taunting him thus because Athens was taken and held by the enemy. Thereupon Themistocles spoke long and bitterly against Adimantus and the Corinthians, giving them plainly to understand that the Athenians had a city and country greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for there were no Greeks that could beat them off.

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; [for all our strength for war is in our ships.] Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then

ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.”

63. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγῃ τὰς νέας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν.

64. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὖξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησεν ταῦτα· εὖξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

65. Ἐφῆ δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω εὐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The images of Aeacus and his sons; *cp.* v. 80.

<sup>2</sup> N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day

without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said."

63. These words of Themistocles moved Eurybiades to change his purpose; which to my thinking he did chiefly because he feared lest the Athenians should leave him if he took his ships to the Isthmus; for if the Athenians should leave the fleet the rest would be no match for the enemy. He chose then the plan aforesaid, namely, to abide and fight on the seas where they were.

64. Thus after this wordy skirmish the Greeks at Salamis prepared, since Eurybiades so willed, to fight their battle where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea; and they resolved to pray to the gods, and to call the sons of Aeacus to be their helpers. As they resolved, so they did; they prayed to all the gods, and called Aias and Telamon to come to them from Salamis, where the Greeks were; and they sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and the rest that were of his House.<sup>1</sup>

65. There was one Dicaeus, son of Theocydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told: At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian<sup>2</sup> plain, saw dust coming of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion); for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.

κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ' Ἑλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν  
 μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας  
 τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ  
 πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν  
 φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχον. εἶναι δ'  
 ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι γινομένων  
 τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγ-  
 γόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν “Δημάρητε,  
 οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος  
 στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς  
 Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἑλευσίνος  
 ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμ-  
 μάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν  
 Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῃ καὶ  
 τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν  
 στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν  
 δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα  
 ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ  
 βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μνεῖται·  
 καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ  
 ἱακχάζουσι.” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον  
 “Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον  
 εἴπης· ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα  
 ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ  
 δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ  
 εἰς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε  
 θεοῖσι μελήσει.” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν,  
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι  
 νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος  
 ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ  
 αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξῃ ἀπο-

from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men ; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be ; and Dicaeus said, "Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king's host ; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven's sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered ; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid,<sup>1</sup> and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated ; and the cry which you hear is the 'Iacchus' which is uttered at this feast." Demaratus replied thereto, "Keep silence, and speak to none other thus ; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace ; and for this host, the gods shall look to it." Such was Demaratus' counsel ; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes' ships must perish.—This was

<sup>1</sup> Demeter and Persephone.

λέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξῳ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρώμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἣ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκῶ ἐπομένους βασιλεί, Μηλιάς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολλίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

67. Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῇ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὥς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφισυμμίξαί τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προϊζετο, παρήσαν μετὰπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίάρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἵζοντο



the tale told by Dicaeus, son of Theocydes; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

66. They that were appointed to serve in Xerxes' fleet, when they had viewed the hurt done to the Laconians and crossed over from Trachis to Histiaea, after three days' waiting sailed through the Euripus, and in three more days they arrived at Phalerum. To my thinking, the forces both of land and sea were no fewer in number when they brake into Athens than when they came to Sepias and Thermopylae; for against those that were lost in the storm, and at Thermopylae, and in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set these, who at that time were not yet in the king's following—namely, the Melians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the whole force of Boeotia (save only the Thespians and Plataeans), yea, and the men of Carystus and Andros and Tenos and the rest of the islands, save the five states of which I have before made mention.<sup>1</sup> [For the farther the Persian pressed on into Hellas the more were the peoples that followed in his train.]

67. So when all these were come to Athens, except the Parians (who had been left behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war should incline)—the rest, I say, being come to Phalerum, Xerxes then came himself down to the fleet, that he might consort with the shipmen and hear their opinions. When he was come, and sat enthroned, there appeared before him at his summons the despots of their cities and the leaders of companies from the ships, and they sat according to the

<sup>1</sup> In ch. 46, where, however, six states are mentioned.

ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστω τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅλλοι. ὥς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἴζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποίεοιτο.

68. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιὼν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν γνῶμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιεέσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. “Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὥς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίησι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ εὐσαν γνῶμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποίεο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίησι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὁρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδεὶς· οἱ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὥς κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιέμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχης πρὸς γῇ μένων ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾷς, κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύγονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς

honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea; but Artemisia said: "Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women.] And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas? no man stands in your path; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies' doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnese, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you

οἶκος, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμιεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἤκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεῖς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλεν, ὥς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἔοντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσὶ, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὅφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν.”

69. Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὖνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὥς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἳ δὲ ἀγεόμενοί τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσει ὥς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνώμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἴνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὥς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ’ ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἳ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν

[Lead your army into the Peloponnese, is it likely that those of them who have come from thence will abide unmoved; they will have no mind to fight sea-battles for Athens.] But if you make haste to fight at once on sea, I fear lest your fleet take some hurt and thereby harm your army likewise. Moreover, O king, call this to mind—good men's slaves are wont to be evil and bad men's slaves good; and you, who are the best of all men, have evil slaves, that pass for your allies, men of Egypt and Cyprus and Cilicia and Pamphylia, in whom is no usefulness."

69. When Artemisia spoke thus to Mardonius, all that were her friends were sorry for her words, thinking that the king would do her some hurt for counselling him against a sea-fight; but they that had ill-will and jealousy against her for the honour in which she was held above all the allies were glad at her answer, thinking it would be her undoing. [But when the opinions were reported to Xerxes he was greatly pleased by the opinion of Artemisia; he had ever deemed her a woman of worth and now held her in much higher esteem.] Nevertheless he bade the counsel of the more part to be followed; for he thought that off Euboea his men had been slack fighters by reason of his absence, and now he purposed to watch the battle himself.

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the

ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἤκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἄρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71. Καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅπως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφί ἐπὴν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφί ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίννον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἶδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπερῶν δέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

<sup>1</sup> A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia: narrow and even



Greeks were in fear and dread, and especially they that were from the Peloponnese; and the cause of their fear was, that they themselves were about to fight for the Athenians' country where they lay at Salamis, and if they were overcome they must be shut up and beleaguered in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. At the next nightfall, the land army of the foreigners began its march to the Peloponnese.

71. Nathless the Greeks had used every device possible to prevent the foreigners from breaking in upon them by land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that Leonidas' men at Thermopylae were dead, they hasted together from their cities and encamped on the Isthmus, their general being the brother of Leonidas, Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides. Being there encamped they broke up the Scironian road,<sup>1</sup> and thereafter built a wall across the Isthmus, having resolved in council so to do. As there were many tens of thousands there and all men wrought, the work was brought to accomplishment; for they carried stones to it and bricks and logs and crates full of sand, and they that mustered there never rested from their work by night or by day.

72. Those Greeks that mustered all their people at the Isthmus were the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Troezenians, and men of Hermione. These were they who mustered there, and were moved by great fear for Hellas in her peril; but the rest of the Peloponnesians cared

dangerous for some six miles, and very easily made impassable.

Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.

73. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτὰ. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἑόντα κατὰ χώραν ἴδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἶκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Δήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἡλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Δημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἑόντες δοκέουσι μῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίενται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἑόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, παρέξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῇδιζον.

74. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέσταν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θεόντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,

nothing; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.<sup>1</sup>

73. [Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese:] two of these, the Arcadians and Cynurians, are native to the soil and are now settled where they have ever been; and one nation, the Achæan, has never departed from the Peloponnese, but has left its own country and dwells in another. The four that remain of the seven have come from elsewhere, namely, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians; the Dorians have many notable cities, the Aetolians Elis alone; the Dryopians have Hermione and that Asine which is near Cardamyle of Laconia; and the Lemnians, all the Paroreatae. The Cynurians are held to be Ionians, and the only Ionians native to the soil, but their Argive masters and time have made Dorians of them; they are the people of Orneae and the country round. Now of these seven nations all the cities, save those afore-said, sat apart from the war; and if I may speak freely, by so doing they took the part of the enemy.

74. So the Greeks on the Isthmus had such labour to cope withal, seeing that now all they had was at stake, and they had no hope of winning renown with their ships; but they that were at Salamis, although they heard of the work, were affrighted, and their dread was less for themselves than for the Peloponnese. For a while there was but murmuring between man and man, and wonder at Eurybiades' unwisdom, but at the last came an open outbreak; and an assembly was held, where there was much speaking of the same matters as before, some saying

<sup>1</sup> That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. *Cp.* vii. 205.

## HERODOTUS

οὐ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἶη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὥς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖῳ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὥς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε ἡγλοῖω ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. “Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή.”

76. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὥς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’

that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were.

75. Then Themistocles, when the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, went privily out of the assembly, and sent to the Median fleet a man in a boat, charged with a message that he must deliver. This man's name was Sicinnus, and he was of Themistocles' household and attendant on his children; at a later day, when the Thespians were receiving men to be their citizens, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a wealthy man withal. He now came in a boat and spoke thus to the foreigners' admirals: "I am sent by the admiral of the Athenians without the knowledge of the other Greeks (he being a friend to the king's cause and desiring that you rather than the Greeks should have the mastery) to tell you that the Greeks have lost heart and are planning flight, and that now is the hour for you to achieve an incomparable feat of arms, if you suffer them not to escape. For there is no union in their counsels, nor will they withstand you any more, and you will see them battling against each other, your friends against your foes."

76. With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing

ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

77. Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθέες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα<sup>1</sup> ἐσβλέψας.

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν ἐλπίδι μαινομένη, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, διὰ δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἷόν, δεινὸν μαιμώνοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> *ρήματα* is suggested, and would certainly be more natural.

<sup>1</sup> For a brief notice of controversy respecting the operations off Salamis, see the Introduction to this volume. The locality of Ceos and Cynosura is conjectural.



## BOOK VIII. 76-77

towards Salamis for encirclement, and they too put out to sea that were stationed off Ceos and Cynosura ; and they held all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia.<sup>1</sup> [The purpose of their putting out to sea was, that the Greeks might have no liberty even to flee, but should be hemmed in at Salamis and punished for their fighting off Artemisium.] And the purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this, that, as it was here in especial that in the sea fight men and wrecks would be washed ashore (for the island lay in the very path of the battle that was to be), they might thus save their friends and slay their foes. All this they did in silence, lest their enemies should know of it. So they made these preparations in the night, taking no rest.

77. But, for oracles, I have no way of gainsaying their truth ; for they speak clearly, and I would not essay to overthrow them, when I look into such matter as this :

“ When that with lines of ships thy sacred coasts  
     they have fenced,  
 Artemis<sup>2</sup> golden-sworded, and thine, sea-washed  
     Cynosura,  
 All in the madness of hope, having ravished the  
     glory of Athens,  
 Then shall desire full fed, by pride o’erweening  
     engendered,  
 Raging in dreadful wrath and athirst for the  
     nations’ destruction,  
 Utterly perish and fall ; for the justice of heaven  
     shall quench it ;

<sup>2</sup> There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.

## HERODOTUS

χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἵματι δ' Ἄρης  
πόντον φοινίζει. τότε ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμαρ  
εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι  
ἀντιλογίης χρησμών πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν  
τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο  
ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι  
σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι,  
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους,  
ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώραν εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης  
διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος  
μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ  
νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον  
ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον.  
οὗτος ὠνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο  
Θεμιστοκλέα, εὐντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν  
δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων  
κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων  
αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ  
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν  
Ἰσθμόν. ὥς δὲ ἐξηλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε  
Ἀριστείδης τάδε. “Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι  
ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ  
ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργά-  
σεται. λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ  
ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελο-

## BOOK VIII. 77-79

Bronze upon bronze shall clash, and the terrible  
bidding of Ares

Redden the seas with blood. But Zeus far-seeing,  
and hallowed

Victory then shall grant that Freedom dawn upon  
Hellas.]

Looking at such matter and seeing how clear is the utterance of Bacis, I neither venture myself to gainsay him as touching oracles nor suffer such gainsaying by others.

78. But among the admirals at Salamis there was a hot bout of argument; and they knew not as yet that the foreigners had drawn their ships round them, but supposed the enemy to be still where they had seen him stationed in the daylight.

79. But as they contended, there crossed over from Aegina Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been ostracised by the commonalty; from that which I have learnt of his way of life I am myself well persuaded that he was the best and the justest man at Athens. He then came and stood in the place of council and called Themistocles out of it, albeit Themistocles was no friend of his but his chiefest enemy; but in the stress of the present danger he put that old feud from his mind, and so called Themistocles out, that he might converse with him. Now he had heard already, that the Peloponnesians desired to sail to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "Let the rivalry between us be now as it has been before, to see which of us two shall do his country more good. I tell you now, that it is all one for the Peloponnesians to talk much or little about sailing

## HERODOTUS

πονησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ' ἦν θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμνηνον.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.

80. “Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἄγγειλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμνηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνης, ἦν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις.”

81. Ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὖτις ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

82. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἡρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμέneos, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθεῖν πᾶσαν.

away from hence ; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot ; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this."

80. "Your exhortation is right useful," Themistocles answered, "and your news is good ; for you have come with your own eyes for witnesses of that which I desired might happen. Know that what the Medes do is of my contriving ; for when the Greeks would not of their own accord prepare for battle, it was needful to force them to it willy-nilly. But now since you have come with this good news, give your message to them yourself. If I tell it, they will think it is of my own devising, and they will never take my word for it that the foreigners are doing as you say ; nay, go before them yourself and tell them how it stands. When you have told them, if they believe you, that is best ; but if they will not believe you, it will be the same thing to us ; for if we are hemmed in on every side, as you say, they will no longer be able to take to flight."

81. Aristides then came forward and told them, he was come, he said, from Aegina, and had been hard put to it to slip unseen through the blockade ; for all the Greek fleet was compassed round by Xerxes' ships, and they had best (he said) prepare to defend themselves. Thus he spoke, and took his departure. They fell a-wrangling again ; for the more part of the admirals would not believe that the news was true.

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought

διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

83. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσόντες. ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται· παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας Ἑλληνες, ἀναγομένοισι δὲ σφί αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθεύοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφί γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακε-  
80



them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemisium, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

83. The Greeks, believing at last the tale of the Tenians, made ready for battle. It was now earliest dawn, and they called the fighting men to an assembly, wherein Themistocles made an harangue in which he excelled all others; the tenor of his words was to array all the good in man's nature and estate against the evil; and having exhorted them to choose the better, he made an end of speaking and bade them embark. Even as they so did, came the trireme from Aegina which had been sent away for the Sons of Aeacus.<sup>1</sup>

84. [With that the Greeks stood out to sea in full force, and as they stood out the foreigners straightway fell upon them.] The rest of the Greeks began to back water and beach their ships; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, pushed out to the front and charged a ship; which being entangled with his, and the two not able to be parted, the others did now come to Aminias' aid and joined battle. This is the Athenian story of the beginning of the fight; but the Aeginetans say that the ship which began it was that one which had been sent away to Aegina for the Sons of Aeacus. This story also is told,—that they saw the vision of a woman, who

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* 64.

λεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, “ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;”

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὔτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὔτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὔ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρα ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.

86. Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραῖζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινήτεων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἶόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἦσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῶ ἀμείνουνες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμέομενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

85. The Phoenicians (for they had the western wing, towards Eleusis) were arrayed opposite to the Athenians, and to the Lacedaemonians the Ionians, on the eastern wing, nearest to Piraeus. Yet but few of them fought slackly, as Themistocles had bidden them, and the more part did not so. Many names I could record of ships' captains that took Greek ships; but I will speak of none save Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylacus son of Histiaeus, Samians both; and I make mention of these alone, because Theomestor was for this feat of arms made by the Persians despot of Samos, and Phylacus was recorded among the king's benefactors and given much land. [These benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, *orosangae*.]

86. Thus it was with these two; but the great multitude of the ships were shattered at Salamis, some destroyed by the Athenians and some by the Aeginetans. For since the Greeks fought orderly and in array, but the foreigners were by now disordered and did nought of set purpose, it was but reason that they should come to such an end as befel them. Yet on that day they were and approved themselves by far better men than off Euboea; all were zealous, and feared Xerxes, each man thinking that the king's eye was on him.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps from old Persian *var*, to guard, and *Kshayata*, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from *Khur sangha* (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)

87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεί. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπρίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηὺς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλλαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὐούσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον εὐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς. ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ ἐωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὥς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέαν τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολεῖν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

88. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θεεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέαν ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων “ Δέσποτα, ὥρᾳς Ἀρτεμισίην ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέαν τῶν πολε-

## BOOK VIII. 87-88

87. Now as touching some of the others I cannot with exactness say how they fought severally, foreigners or Greeks; but what befel Artemisia made her to be esteemed by the king even more than before. The king's side being now in dire confusion, Artemisia's ship was at this time being pursued by a ship of Attica; and she could not escape, for other friendly ships were in her way, and it chanced that she was the nearest to the enemy; wherefore she resolved that she would do that which afterwards tended to her advantage, and as she fled pursued by the Athenian she charged a friendly ship that bore men of Calyndus and the king himself of that place, Damasithymus. It may be that she had had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, but if her deed was done of set purpose, or if the Calyndian met her by crossing her path at haphazard, I cannot say. But having charged and sunk the ship, she had the good luck to work for herself a double advantage. For when the Attic captain saw her charge a ship of foreigners, he supposed that Artemisia's ship was Greek or a deserter from the foreigners fighting for the Greeks, and he turned aside to deal with others.

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes' eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, *Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and*

μίῳν κατέδυνσε ;” καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέοθαι εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα “Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἑὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεί, τῇσι σφετέρησι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

90. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι’ ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκίῃ



how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

89. In that hard fighting Xerxes' brother the admiral Ariabignes, son of Darius, was slain, and withal many other Persians and Medes and allies of renown, and some Greeks, but few; for since they could swim, they who lost their ships, yet were not slain in hand-to-hand fight, swam across to Salamis; but the greater part of the foreigners were drowned in the sea, not being able to swim. When the foremost ships were turned to flight, it was then that the most of them were destroyed; for the men of the rearmost ranks, pressing forward in their ships that they too might display their valour to the king, ran foul of their friends' ships that were in flight.

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while

νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναίῃ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρίκων τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἑόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρίκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὥς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα ὑπερλυπέομενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἑνυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπνυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἑὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεύσας· ὅκως δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

92. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναίην,

the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

91. The foreigners being routed and striving to win out to Phalerum, the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the passage and then achieved notable deeds; for the Athenians amid the disorder made havoc of all ships that would resist or fly, and so did the Aeginetans with those that were sailing out of the strait; and all that escaped from the Athenians fell in their course among the Aeginetans.

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Crius of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan

ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενόου, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἦλω ἢ νηὺς ἢ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἴγιναν. ὥς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμόν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέαν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἰ νέες περιεγέγοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινῆτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὃς ἂν μιν ζώην ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὥς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἰ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὥς συνέμισγον αἰ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα,

<sup>1</sup> Polycritus cries to Themistocles, "See how friendly we are to the Persians!" Polycritus and his father had been

ship that watched off Sciathus, wherein was Pytheas son of Ischenous, that Pytheas whom when gashed with wounds the Persians kept aboard their ship and made much of for his valour; this Sidonian ship was carrying Pytheas among the Persians when she was now taken, so that thereby he came safe back to Aegina. When Polycritus saw the Attic ship, he knew it by seeing the admiral's ship's ensign, and cried out to Themistocles with bitter taunt and reproach as to the friendship of Aegina with the Persians.<sup>1</sup> Such taunts did Polycritus hurl at Themistocles, after that he had charged an enemy ship. As for the foreigners whose ships were yet undestroyed, they fled to Phalerum and took refuge with the land army.

93. In that sea-fight the nations that won most renown were the Aeginetans, and next to them the Athenians; among men the most renowned were Polycritus of Aegina and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, he who pursued after Artemisia. Had he known that she was in that ship, he had never been stayed ere he took hers or lost his own; such was the bidding given to the Athenian captain, and there was a prize withal of ten thousand drachmae for whoever should take her alive; for there was great wrath that a woman should come to attack Athens. She, then, escaped as I have already said; and the rest also whose ships were undestroyed were at Phalerum.

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the Athenians say that at the very moment when the ships joined battle he was struck with terror and

taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged with favouring the Persians (vi. 49, 73).



## HERODOTUS

τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οἷχεσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ ἶρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. “Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρώντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν.” ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τάδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὲ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ’ ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἔοντες



panic, and hoisting his sails fled away; and when the Corinthians saw their admiral's ship fleeing they were off and away likewise. But when (so the story goes) they came in their flight near that part of Salamis where is the temple of Athene Sciras,<sup>1</sup> there by heaven's providence a boat met them which none was known to have sent, nor had the Corinthians, ere it drew nigh to them, known aught of the doings of the fleet; and this is how they infer heaven's hand in the matter: when the boat came nigh the ships, those that were in it cried, "Adimantus, you have turned back with your ships in flight, and betrayed the Greeks; but even now they are winning the day as fully as they ever prayed that they might vanquish their enemies." Thus they spoke, and when Adimantus would not believe they said further that they were ready to be taken for hostages and slain if the Greeks were not victorious for all to see. Thereupon Adimantus and the rest did turn their ships about and came to the fleet when all was now over and done. Thus the Athenians report of the Corinthians; but the Corinthians deny it, and hold that they were among the foremost in the battle; and all Hellas bears them witness likewise.

95. But Aristides son of Lysimachus, that Athenian of whose great merit I have lately made mention, did in this rout at Salamis as I will show: taking many of the Athenian men-at-arms who stood arrayed on the shores of Salamis, he carried them across to

<sup>1</sup> The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis. If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the ends of the whole strait between Salamis and the mainland, it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.

Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσησι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡίονα τὴν καλομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

97. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γε, ὤνους πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῇται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικῆιους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίου ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος.

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<sup>1</sup> A narrow headland 2½ miles south of Phalerum; just where ships would be driven from the battle by a west wind.

the island Psyttalea, and they slaughtered all the Persians who were on that islet.

96. The sea-fight being broken off, the Greeks towed to Salamis all the wrecks that were still afloat in those waters, and held themselves ready for another battle, thinking that the king would yet again use his ships that were left. But many of the wrecks were caught by a west wind and carried to the strand in Attica called Colias;<sup>1</sup> so that not only was the rest of the prophecy fulfilled which had been uttered by Bacis and Musaeus concerning that sea-fight, but also that which had been prophesied many years ago by an Athenian oracle-monger named Lysistratus, about the wrecks that were here cast ashore (the import of which prophecy no Greek had noted):

“Also the Colian dames shall roast their barley with oar-blades.”

But this was to happen after the king's departure.

97. When Xerxes was aware of the calamity that had befallen him, he feared lest the Greeks (by Ionian counsel or their own devising) might sail to the Hellespont to break his bridges, and he might be cut off in Europe and in peril of his life } and so he planned flight. But that neither the Greeks nor his own men might discover his intent, he essayed to build a mole across to Salamis,<sup>2</sup> and made fast a line of Phoenician barges to be a floating bridge and a wall; and he made preparation for war, as though he would fight at sea again. The rest who saw him

<sup>2</sup> Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.

ὀρώντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα εὖ ἠπιστέατο ὥς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται μένων πολεμήσειν. Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὥς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

98. Ταῦτά τε ἄμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὥς ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ἢ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατα-  
νύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδόι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἑλλησι ἢ λαμπαδηφορίῃ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσιν. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήιον.

99. Ἡ μὲν δὲ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὥς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὥς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίην πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμῆματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσιν τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι. ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίῃ ἐπεσελθούσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρή-

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<sup>1</sup> Torch-races were run at certain Athenian festivals. They were of various kinds. One was "a relay or team race. There were several lines of runners; the first man in each

so doing were fully persuaded that he was in all earnestness prepared to remain there and carry on the war; but none of this deceived Mardonius, who had best experience of Xerxes' purposes.

98. While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skilful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey; and these are stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race<sup>1</sup> in honour of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, *angareïon*.<sup>2</sup>

99. When the first message came to Susa, telling that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity; but the second, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all rent

line had his torch lighted at the altar and ran with it at full speed to the second, to whom he passed it on, the second to the third, and so on till the last man carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first passed its torch alight to the goal was the winning team" (How and Wells).

<sup>2</sup> *ἄγγαρος* is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek *ἀστάνδης* (How and Wells). *ἄγγαρος* passed into Greek usage; *cp.* Aesch. Ag. 282.

ξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίειν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἐωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἶη ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα· πλέον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὦν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. “Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὔτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἳ τε ἡμῖν ἠντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἑλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίεις· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν.



their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame ; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for over-persuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry ; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas ; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal : " Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses ; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland ; they that have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese ; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down ; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said ; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another

Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσης καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλλησι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσί τοί τι δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγε- νόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι εἰσὶ, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἥθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμέ δὲ σοὶ χρή τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.”

101. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὥς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἤσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βουλευ- σάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὥς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβου- λίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκητο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. “Κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσὶ, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμέ ὦν ἡ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιεῖν, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολε- ξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δὲ με κελεύει ἀπελάυνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας εὖ συνεβού-

plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians, nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose."

101. When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his evil case might be, and said to Mardonius that he would answer him when he had first taken counsel which of the two plans he would follow; and as he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he was fain to bid Artemisia too to the council, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian councillors and guards, and said to her: "It is Mardonius' counsel that I should abide here and attack the Peloponnese; for the Persians, he says, and the land army are nowise to blame for our disaster, and of that they would willingly give proof. Wherefore it is his counsel that I should do this; else he offers to choose out three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march away homeward with the rest of the host. Now therefore I ask of you:

## HERODOTUS

λευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἔῴσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος.”

102. “Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε. “Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἴπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσκειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν καταστρέφεται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσκει τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὧ δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιέοντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἦν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἦν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποίησας, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾶς.”

103. “Ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ· Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἐφεσον· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.

104. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἑόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ

as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do."

102. Being thus asked for advice she replied: "It is difficult, O king, to answer your asking for advice by saying that which is best; but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march away back, and that Mardonius, if he wills and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. For if he subdue all that he offers to subdue, and prosper in the purpose wherewith he speaks, the achievement, Sire, is yours; for it will be your servants that have wrought it. But if again the issue be contrary to Mardonius' opinion, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours be safe; for while you and they of your house are safe, many a time and oft will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if aught ill befall him, it is no matter for that; nor will any victory of the Greeks be a victory in truth, when they have but slain your servant; but as for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition."

103. Artemisia's counsel pleased Xerxes; for it happened that she spoke his own purpose; in truth I think that he would not have remained, though all men and women had counselled him so to do; so panic-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to carry his sons to Ephesus; for he had some bastard sons with him.

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the



## HERODOTUS

οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλεί<sup>1</sup> [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τουτέοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱερεὶα αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δέ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιτο παῖδας εἶδεος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνούχοι πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

106. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλούς καὶ φίλους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκείνον ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος



most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people : when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

105. Hermotimus, who came from this place Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man within my knowledge. Being taken captive by enemies and exposed for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man that had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices; he would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus, where he sold them for a great price; for the foreigners value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated in the way of trade was Hermotimus, who was not in all things unfortunate; for he was brought from Sardis among other gifts to the king, and as time went on he stood higher in Xerxes' favour than any other eunuch.

106. Now while the king was at Sardis and there preparing to lead his Persian armament against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business that he had in hand down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chians and called Atarneus, and there he found Panionius. Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him; "it is to you," he said, "that I owe all this prosperity of

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<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are probably an interpolation, from i. 175, where they occur more appropriately.

## HERODOTUS

ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἢ κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκῇ ἐκείνῃ, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὥς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε. “Ὡ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι ; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμνηχανῶ τότε· οἳ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην.” ὥς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ὤνειδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὅψιν ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ παίδων τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίησε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὥς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος.

107. Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἑφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὥς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλείοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι

mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,"—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my forefathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." [With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn.] Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose out whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavour availed. For that day matters went thus far; in the night, the admirals by the king's command put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed, to guard the bridges for the king's passage. When the foreigners came near to the "Girdle"<sup>1</sup> in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut

<sup>1</sup> A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piræus and Sunium.

λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξισόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδιάς, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφήν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπόν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσῃ· ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν

but from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. [Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."



ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτεον, ὁρμέατό τε εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγε σφί τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιαύδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας εἰς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχασθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὖρημα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαι ἔοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἄλλ’ εὖ γὰρ ἔχει εἰς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμειναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης.” ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι εἰς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τά περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε,



With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and thus addressed them: "This I have often seen with my eyes, and much oftener heard, that beaten men when they be driven to bay will rally and retrieve their former mishap. Wherefore I say to you,—as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a cloud of enemies, let us not pursue after men that flee. For it is not we that have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious; one that dealt alike with temples and homes, and burnt and overthrew the images of the gods,—yea, that scourged the sea and threw fetters therinto. But as it is well with us for the nonce, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households; let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away; and when the next spring comes let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said with intent to put somewhat to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer aught at the hands of the Athenians; and indeed it did so happen.

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφὸς τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἑτοιμοὶ ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεί φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτῖς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λυεῖν. καὶ νῦν κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζω.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημῆναντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω.

111. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μῆτ’ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριοὶ νησιωτῶν αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωσαν, ἀλλὰ προῖσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὥς ἤκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθῶ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίῃν, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὥς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι

deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; of whom one was again his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but

γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρεῖν, πενίην τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἔοντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀδυναμίας τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

112. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὥς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἳ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἀνδρον ὥς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὥς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δέισαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούρους. καίτοι Καρυστίοισι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν ἐξ Ἀνδρου ὁρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτᾶτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν

blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

112. So for thus answering and refusing to give they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money, and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. Thereby he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians; for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian part, and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed; which so affrighted them that they sent money; and I suppose that there were other islanders too that gave, and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. Nevertheless the Carystians got thereby no respite from misfortune; but the Parians propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the armament. So Themistocles issued out from Andros and took monies from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unreasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to



## HERODOTUS

Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἶδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλήθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμῃ δὲ ἥσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεῦσι.

114. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδονίῳς τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθει ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὲ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῇται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε εἰοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὧσιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.” ὃ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-



## BOOK VIII. 113-114

winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse,<sup>1</sup> and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets)<sup>2</sup> were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

114. Now while Mardonius was making choice of his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas, and take what answer he should give them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed; who finding the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence and thus spoke: "The Lacedaemonians and the Heraclidæ of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes! that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you slew while he defended Hellas." At that Xerxes laughed; and after a long while he

<sup>1</sup> Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55

<sup>2</sup> *cp.* vi. 83.

## HERODOTUS

στεῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε “Τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὁδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει.”

115. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ’ οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ’ ἐποίηον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ’ ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρήξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

116. Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρήιξ ἔργον ὑπερφυῆς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ’ οἷχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν

pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

115. So the herald took that utterance and departed; but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly, and himself journeying with all speed to the Hellespont came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may so say) of his host. Whithersoever and to whatsoever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce; and if they found none, they would take for their eating the grass of the field, and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing; [so starved they were for hunger. Moreover a pestilence and a dysentery broke out among them on their way, whereby they died. Some that were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities whither he came in his march to care for them and nourish them] some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia; in Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but in his return he received it not again; for the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltæ and the Crestonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the

## HERODOTUS

Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφί θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες ἐξ ἑόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

117. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλησποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις.

118. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὥς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνει ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δὲ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίν. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστί σφί σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι “Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων.”

## BOOK VIII. 116-118

mountains called Rhodope; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back scatheless, their father tore out their eyes.

117. This was their reward. But the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships; for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march was stayed, and more food was given them than on their way; and by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that yet remained died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis.

118. But there is another tale, which is this:—When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eïon on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonian, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance; whereat the man said, "Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board." Hearing that, it

## HERODOTUS

καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπεῖν  
 “Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασι-  
 λέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ  
 σωτηρίη.” τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυ-  
 νέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα  
 ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν  
 Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῆν στεφάνη τὸν  
 κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε,  
 ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ  
 Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε  
 ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ  
 δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς  
 Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω  
 ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι  
 ἐς κοίλην νέα ἑόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς  
 πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἑόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως  
 οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς  
 τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι  
 εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ  
 ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τότε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται  
 γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς  
 Ἀβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ  
 δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ  
 χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται,  
 λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο  
 τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὥς ἐν  
 ἀδείῃ ἑών. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἴδρυται πρὸς τοῦ



is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you"; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

119. This is the other tale of Xerxes' return; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians' fate, nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes as aforesaid, I think that there is not one in ten thousand but would say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of Persia) descend into the ship's hold, and would have taken of the Phœnician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. Nay, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road.

120. And herein too lies a clear proof of it: it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return he entered into bonds of friendship with its people, and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara; and as the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle,<sup>1</sup> as being here in safety. Now Abdera

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* perhaps v. 106, where Histiaeus swears to Darius that he will not take off his tunic till he reaches Ionia; or the reference may be to a man's being εὔζωνος (with his 'loins girded up') for swift travel.

## HERODOTUS

Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡϊόνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν λήην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυνάδεκα πηχέων· ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσεούς, οἱ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητήρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήης ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιοτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα

lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, where they say that he took ship.

121. As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros they betook themselves to Carystus, and having laid it waste they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other firstfruits, three Phœnician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Aias at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoil and sent the firstfruits of it to Delphi; whereof was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figure-head of a ship; this stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

122. Having sent the firstfruits to Delphi the Greeks inquired in common of the god, if the firstfruits that he had received were of full measure and if he was content therewith; whereat he said that this was so as touching what he received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans; of these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learnt that, they dedicated three golden stars that are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl.

123. After the division of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and gave their divers votes at the altar of Poseidon, to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them there voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service, but the greater part of them united in giving the second

δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχισάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπύκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν<sup>1</sup>. . . Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλεί καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἐδωρήσαντό τε μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν ἀπύοντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὔτοι οἱ περ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μόνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

125. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνέικε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐωυτόν. ὃ δέ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε "Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης

<sup>1</sup> Stein supposes that something is omitted before Εὐρυβιάδῃ, perhaps ἀνδραγαθίης.

place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, but Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

124. The Greeks were too jealous to adjudge the prize, and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter doubtful; nevertheless, Themistocles was cried up, and all Hellas glorified him for the wisest man by far of the Greeks. But because he had not received from them that fought at Salamis the honour due to his pre-eminence, immediately afterwards he betook himself to Lacedaemon, that he might receive honour there; and the Lacedaemonians made him welcome and paid him high honour. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellence, and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness; and they gave him the finest chariot in Sparta; and with many words of praise, they sent him on his homeward way with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom I have heard to whom the Spartans gave this escort.

125. But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles' enemies but a man in no-wise notable, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honours he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens' sake and not for his own. This he would continually be saying; till Themistocles replied, "This is the truth of the matter—had I been of Belbina<sup>1</sup> I had not been thus honoured

<sup>1</sup> An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.



ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σὺ, ὦνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

126. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσησι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἕξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὥς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγίνετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπείγοντος ἦκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαιήτησι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὥς βασιλεὺς παρέξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὅντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται), τέλος



by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens." Such was the end of that business.

126. Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so by the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. Xerxes being now in Asia, when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. For the king having marched away past the town and the Persian fleet taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the foreigners; and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea; and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also, the town being held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats, and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone and the Chalcidian people; and thus the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidaea; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scio-naeans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I

μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψει ἡ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἡ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλίζαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπαίστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδούς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαίητεω τὸν ὦμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῇν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίῃ. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθούσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπαίστος ἐγγέγονε· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγγέγονεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρήισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὥς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμὰ κω, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-

<sup>1</sup> Probably points on each side of the notch (where the arrow lies on the string) to give the fingers better grip.

will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter for sending to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it round the shaft of an arrow at the notches<sup>1</sup> and put feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place whereon they had agreed. But Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidaea was discovered; for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidaea; and a throng gathering quickly round the man when he was struck (which is a thing that ever happens in war), they straightway took the arrow and found the letter and carried it to their generals, the rest of their allies of Pallene being also there present. The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not smite Timoxenus to the earth with a charge of treason, lest so the people of Scione should ever after be called traitors.

129. Thus was Timoxenus' treachery brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidaea for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea, lasting for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh they made to pass over it into Pallene. But when they had made their way over two fifths of it and three yet remained to cross ere they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been before; and some of them that knew not how

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).

ρουτο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαιῆται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαιῆται τῆς τε ῥηχίνης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἡσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἱ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν.

130. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὥς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐπεβάτευον. στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφί ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταῦντης ὁ Ἀρταχαίειω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀδελφιδέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταῦντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρης. ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήμισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφί τὴν ἐωυτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν

to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay herein, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king's escort.

130. All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered; the most of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardontes son of Bagaeus and Artayntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artayntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor was any man instant that they should so do, but they lay off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia, the whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, being three hundred; nor in truth did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country; thus they inferred, because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that



τὸν Μαρδόνιον. εἶντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίητο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούσ τεον ὅκη πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

131. Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἐὼν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὕκω συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκητο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάνιος τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεαδαίου τοῦ Ἰλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτά τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.

132. Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἳ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληίδεω ἦν. οἳ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, εἶντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά. ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὥς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> The first royal house was the line of Agis, from whom Leonidas was descended (vii. 204). The second was the line of Euryphon. In the present list "the first king among the



on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies, and to listen the while for tidings of how it went with Mardonius.

131. But as for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, an hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina; and their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, tracing his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides; Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles; he was of the second royal house.<sup>1</sup> All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron.

132. When all the ships were arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lacedaemonians to free Ionia; of whom one was Herodotus the son of Basileïdes.<sup>2</sup> These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the despot of Chios; but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices

ancestors of Leutychides is Theopompus, the seven more immediate ancestors of L. belonging to a younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus" (How and Wells).

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise unknown.

μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐξ ἑόντες ὑπεξε-  
σχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ  
δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι  
καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς  
μόγις μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δει-  
νὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμ-  
πίροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι,  
τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας  
στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε  
τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω  
Σάμον μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας,  
τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν  
ἡῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύ-  
λασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δήλον,  
Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐν-  
θεύτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια  
ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντει-  
λάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἰά-  
τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τι μὲν βουλόμενος  
ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο,  
οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω δ'  
ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ  
ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἐς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται  
ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας  
τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ  
δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὥς ἀπίκητο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ  
Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ περ

<sup>1</sup> "As far off as the Straits of Gibraltar"—a figure of distance.

having revealed their enterprise, the six that remained got them privily out of Chios, whence they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. The Greeks brought them as far as Delos, and that not readily; for they feared all that lay beyond, having no knowledge of those parts, and thinking that armed men were everywhere; and they supposed that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Heracles.<sup>1</sup> So it fell out that the foreigners were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos; thus fear kept the middle space between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having here his headquarters he sent thence a man of Europus called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles whereof he could make trial. What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for none tells of it; but I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone.

134. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius,<sup>2</sup> and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis; to Thebes too he first went, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the

<sup>2</sup> See How and Wells *ad loc.* for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity: also on Amphiaraus and "Ptoan" Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.

ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἐωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῶον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεῖτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλούμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἵρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσση χρᾶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὃ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσση χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

136. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὃ τι δὴ λέγονται ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς

way of divination, even as at Olympia), and moreover bribed one that was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus.

[No Theban may seek a prophecy there; for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they would and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally;] and they chose that he should be their ally; wherefore no Theban may lay him down to sleep in that place.

135. But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called Ptoum,<sup>1</sup> and belongs to the Thebans; it lies by a hill, above the lake Copaïs, very near to the town Acraephia. When the man called Mys entered into this temple, three men of the town following him that were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. The Thebans that followed him stood astonished to hear a strange language instead of Greek, and knew not what this present matter might be; but Mys of Europus snatched from them the tablet that they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian; and having written all down he went away back to Thessaly.

136. Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles; and presently he sent a messenger to Athens,

<sup>1</sup> Called after Ptous, son of Athamas, according to Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, *cp.* vii. 197.



Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὲ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτισεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσκειν, τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πέζῃ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῶ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιεέσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.

137. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἔβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἀργεος ἔφυγον εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο εἰς Λεβαίην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Alabanda was not in Phrygia but in Caria (*cp.* vii. 195); Stein prefers to read Alabastra, a town which Herodotus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, places in Phrygia.



Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas; him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; for Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaia Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda<sup>1</sup> a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling; and partly he sent him because he learnt that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he looked to be easily master of the seas, as truly he would have been; and on land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger; so he reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. Peradventure this was the prediction of the oracles, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and it was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the despotism of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos<sup>2</sup> to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. There they served for wages as

<sup>2</sup> The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadae, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.

## HERODOTUS

ἐθήτευον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὃ δὲ βοῦς, ὃ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῶη, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκew διπλήσιος ἐγένετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῷτο τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσήλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας προηγόρενέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαμβάνοντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἣν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος “Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι,” δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὲ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἕστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε “Δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς,” περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρεῖς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνου.

138. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπήϊσαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεί σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἶόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσσειε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν νόφ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἵππείας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν

thralls in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them; for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the commonalty alone, were lacking in wealth; and whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdiccas grew double in bigness. Seeing that this ever happened, she told her husband; and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent, signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thralls and bade them depart out of his territory. They said it was but just that they should have their wages ere they departed; whereupon the king, when they spoke of wages, was moved to foolishness, and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke-vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that; but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife that he had upon him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight<sup>1</sup>; which done, he thrice gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment, and went his way with his companions.

138. So they departed; but one of them that sat by declared to the king what this was that the boy had done, and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered; which when the king heard, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. But there is in that land a river, whereto the descendants from

<sup>1</sup> The action is said to symbolise claiming possession of house and land, and also to call the sun to witness the claim. Ancient Germany, apparently, had a similar custom.

ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτῆρι· οὗτος, ἐπεῖτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρῦν ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἴους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίου, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκαστον ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἦλθω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κέεται Βέρμιον οὖνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

139. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγένετο· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

140. Ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω· ὡς δὲ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη ἦκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω. ‘Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετήμι. νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφί ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, εἰόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἱρά τε πάντα σφί, ἣν δὴ βού-

<sup>1</sup> This was the fertile and beautiful valley in which stood Aegae or Edessa (modern Vodena), the ancient home of the Macedonian kings.

Argos of these men offer sacrifice, as their deliverer ; this river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias,<sup>1</sup> wherein roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance ; in which garden, by the Macedonian story, Silenus<sup>2</sup> was taken captive ; above it rises the mountain called Bermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. Thence they issued forth when they had won that country, and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia.

139. From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Alcetes ; Alcetes' father was Aeropus, and his was Philippus ; Philippus' father was Argæus, and his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship.

140. Such was the lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas ; who, when he came to Athens from Mardonius who had sent him, spoke on this wise. " This, Athenians, is what Mardonius says to you :— There is a message come to me from the king, saying, ' I forgive the Athenians all the offences which they have committed against me ; and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this :— Give them back their territory, and let them choose more for themselves besides, wheresoever they will, and dwell under their own laws ; and rebuild all their temples

<sup>2</sup> This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a " nature-deity," inhabiting places of rich vegetation : if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the *Odyssey*.



λωνταί γε ἔμοι ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα.' τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἣν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλείᾳ ἀειρόμενοι ; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλαισθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλήθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἔμοι ἐούσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἣν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισούμενοι βασιλείᾳ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὀρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἰοίσι τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνῶρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης. ἣν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ



that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me." This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes' host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined; keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;

πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας μούνοισι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἁμαρτάδας ἀπιεῖς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.”

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας εἰς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἤκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἀγγελον ἐπ’ ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὦν ἐποίουν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐωυτῶν γνώμην.

142. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγελοι “Ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἤκιστα πολλῶν εἵνεκα. ἡγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης

for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

141. Thus spoke Alexander. But the Lacedaemonians had heard that Alexander was come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the foreigner; and remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid lest the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. Moreover it so fell out for both, that they made their entry at one and the same time; for the Athenians delayed, and tarried for them, being well assured that the Lacedaemonians were like to hear that the messenger was come from the Persians for an agreement; and they had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed; therefore it was of set purpose that they did it, that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians.

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner." That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought

τοῖσι "Ελλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλοι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζυμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διζῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστὶ· τύραννος γὰρ ἔων τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροις ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῖν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω ὅκως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺν ἡμέας πειρῷ ἀναπεῖθαι οὔτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴῃ τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσί τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὄπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίneo Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν

upon the Greeks by you [Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many.] Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefor the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. [But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel.] It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth." Thus spoke the envoys.

143. But to Alexander the Athenians thus replied : " We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours; there is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. [But as touching agreements with the foreigner, do not you essay to persuade us thereto, nor will we consent; and now [carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course whereby he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes] but we will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has set at nought and burnt their houses and their adornments. [To you we say, come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service counsel us to do wickedly ;



## HERODOTUS

παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον.”

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρα κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοισιν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ’ ἦν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὐτὶς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ εἰς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξη. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἐοῦσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορῶντων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος



for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said, "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false. **K**now this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes.) Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner

## HERODOTUS

ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ταχιστα  
πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν  
ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι  
ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ προ-  
βοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην." οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπο-  
κριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

BOOK VIII. 144

will be upon us and invading our country in no long time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, [now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia." At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.] ✓



BOOK IX

# I

1. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμνη, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θῶρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεύτερος ἐν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἐκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλλήνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἱ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισιν. “εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ἔξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλευμάτων· πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ



## BOOK IX

1. Mardonius, when Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens<sup>1</sup>; and to whatsoever country he came he took its people along with him. The rulers of Thessaly repented no whit of what they had already done, and were but readier than before to further his march; and Thorax of Larissa, who had aided to give Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, did now without disguise open a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

2. But when the army in its march was come into Boeotia, the Thebans sought to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they pleaded) go further, but rather halt there and so act as to subdue all Hellas without fighting. For as long as the Greeks who before had been of the same way of thinking remained in accord, it would be a hard matter even for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms; "but if you do as we advise," said the Thebans as they spoke, "you will without trouble be master of all their counsels of battle. Send money to the men that have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against

<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.

τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψαι.”

3. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἱμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἐλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέϊ δηλώσειν ἔόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας· ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὔρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσί, αἰρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόнийος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνεται, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ εἰσέδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἷ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περι-

itself; and after that, with your partisans to aid, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries."

3. Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it; rather he was imbued with a wondrous desire to take Athens once more; this was partly of mere perversity, and partly because he thought to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. Yet on his coming to Attica he found the Athenians no more there than before, but, as he learnt, the most of them were on shipboard at Salamis; and he took the city, but no men therein. There were ten months between the king's taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius.

4. When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis one Murychides, a man of the Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. He sent this the second time because, albeit he knew already the Athenians' unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abate their stiff-neckedness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy.

5. For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis, who came before the council and told them Mardonius' message. Then Lycidas, one of the councillors, gave it for his opinion that it seemed to him best to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him; but the Athenians in the council were very wroth, and so too when they heard of it were they that were outside; and they made a ring

στάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν Ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἦσαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὃ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμόνιοις ὅτι περιείδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἡντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίνην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοις, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἦν Ἑτακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἡγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἀγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον

## BOOK IX. 5-7

round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Murychides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6. Now this was how the Athenians had passed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, so long they abode in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians were ever longer and slower in action, and the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, they did then convey all their goods out of harm's way and themselves crossed over to Salamis; and they sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who should upbraid the Lacedaemonians for suffering the foreigner to invade Attica and not meeting him in Boeotia with the Athenians to aid; and should bid the Lacedaemonians withal remember what promises the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some succour for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help.

7. For the Lacedaemonians were at this time holiday-making, keeping the festival of Hyacinthus,<sup>1</sup> and their chiefest care was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall that they were building on the Isthmus was by now even getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys were arrived at Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara

<sup>1</sup> A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.

τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. “Ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδιδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ’ ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ’ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικέομενοι ὑπ’ Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ’ ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαννόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε προεσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μὲν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτῆς, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίου.”

8. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ



and Plataeae, they came before the ephors and said : "The Athenians have sent us with this message : The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him ; yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks ; but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian ? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you ; for that which you have done beseems you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica ; for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain."

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again

ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδῇ ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφί ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδῇ μεγάλῃ ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἴσθμὸς σφί ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἂν ἐτετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μέγας καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφί τάδε. “Οὐτῷ ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμαχῶν, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλα κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτεύαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.”

10. Ὁ μὲν σφί ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίου Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες

till the day after; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens<sup>1</sup> the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

9. But the manner of their answering at last and sending the Spartan army was this: On the day before that hearing which should have been the last, Chileüs, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learnt from the ephors all that the Athenians had said; and having heard it he said, as the tale goes, to the ephors, "Sirs, this is how the matter stands: if the Athenians be our enemies and the foreigner's allies, then though you drive a strong wall across the Isthmus the Persian has an effectual door opened for passage into the Peloponnese. Nay, hearken to them, ere the Athenians take some new resolve that will bring calamity to Hellas."

10. This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart; saying no word to the envoys who were come from the cities, they bade march before dawn of day five thousand Spartans, with seven helots appointed to attend each of them;

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* viii. 135.

τῶν εἰλώτων, Πausανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτά-  
ξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίῃ Πλει-  
στάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς,  
ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμ-  
βροτος γὰρ ὁ Πausανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξανδρί-  
δεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ  
τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν  
μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιούς ἀπέθανε.  
ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ  
Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ  
ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ  
ἑωυτῷ Πausανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἀνδρα  
οἰκίης ἑόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Πausανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν  
ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε,  
οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ  
αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ  
ἔλεγον τάδε. “Τμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ  
τῇδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε,  
καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς  
ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεῖ τε συμμάχων κατα-  
λύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται·  
καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασι-  
λέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ’ ἣν ἂν ἐκείνοι  
ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε  
ὀκοῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνη.” ταῦτα λε-  
γόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ’ ὅρκου  
καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείῳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorieus, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus.

and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader's place belonged of right to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, Pausanias' father and Anaxandrides' son, was no longer living; after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, he lived but a little while ere his death. The reason of Cleombrotus' leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family,<sup>1</sup> Euryanax son of Dorieus.

11. So Pausanias' army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place; and when they were come, "You Lacedaemonians," they said, "abide still where you are, keeping your Hyacinthia and disporting yourselves, leaving your allies deserted; the Athenians, for the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, and thereafter, seeing that plainly we shall be the king's allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter shall be for you." Thus spoke the envoys; and the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum,<sup>2</sup> marching

<sup>2</sup> Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.



## HERODOTUS

τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ ὥς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ εἶναι, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλῖται τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

12. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο· Ἀργεοῖ δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοῖς Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· ὃς ἐπεῖτε ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε. “Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος.”

13. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ’ Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπῆμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε

<sup>1</sup> Inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.



against the "strangers," as they called the foreigners. Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to what the tale might mean, and thereby learnt the whole truth; whereat they marvelled, and took the road with all speed after the army; and with them went likewise five thousand chosen men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

12. So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. But the Argives had already promised Mardonius that they would hinder the Spartan from going out to war; and as soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances that they could find; who, when he came to Athens, spoke on this wise to Mardonius: "I am sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot stay them from so doing; wherefore, may fortune grant you good counsel."

13. So spoke the herald, and departed back again; and when Mardonius heard that, he was no longer desirous of remaining in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his hand, desiring to know the Athenians' plan and what they would do, and neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still ever supposed that they would make terms with him; but when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias' army ere it entered the Isthmus; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. The reason of his

δὲ τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἵππασιμη ἢ χώρα ἦν ἢ Ἀττική, εἴ τε νικῶτο συμβαλόν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλευέτο ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλήν καὶ χώραν ἵππασίμω.

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἥδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἰόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἦκειν ἐς Μέγαρά, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλευέτο θέλων εἶ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρά· ἢ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώραν τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἢ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὥς ἀλέες εἶησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρήκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων

## BOOK IX. 13-15

marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

14. So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that over and above the rest an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians was arrived at Megara; at which hearing he took counsel how he might first make an end of these; and he turned about and led his army against Megara, his horse going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the most westerly place in Europe to which this Persian armament attained.

15. Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; for the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the Asopus country that dwelt near, and these guided him to Sphendalae and thence to Tanagra, where he camped for the night; and on the next day he turned thence to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they took the Persian part; not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a strong place for his army, and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he desired. His army covered the ground from Erythrae past

<sup>1</sup> He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.

## HERODOTUS

παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς, κατέτεινε δὲ εἰς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κη μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

16. Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων, Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος  
 παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια  
 αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Πέρσων  
 τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο·  
 ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιούμενον ἐν Θήβησι. τάδε  
 δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς  
 μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν  
 Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κλη-  
 θῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ  
 σφῶν οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλίνειν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃν  
 τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ  
 δεῖπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσῃν τὸν ὁμό-  
 κλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν  
 ὁποδαπὸς ἐστί, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς εἴη  
 Ὀρχομενίος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτρά-  
 πεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά  
 τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ  
 προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σευτοῦ βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς  
 τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους  
 Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον· τούτων πάντων  
 ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους  
 τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους.” ταῦτα ἅμα τε τὸν  
 Πέρσῃν λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων.  
 αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 “Οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν

Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Plataeae, where it lay ranked by the Asopus river. I say not that the walled camp which he made was so great; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius

καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνουν ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι Περσέων ;” τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “Ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεῖς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.” ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

17. Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ στρατοπεδευόμενον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ ἐμῆδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμῆδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι) οὐκ ἐκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρὴν ἵππος ἢ ἄπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τῶν τοῦτο. ἔνθα δὴ σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνειε λέγων τοιάδε. “ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ



and those honourable Persians that are with him?" "Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds none to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. And it is the hatefulest of all human sorrows to have much knowledge and no power." This tale I heard from Thersandrus of Orchomenus; who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway told it to others before the fight of Plataeae.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, except only the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of necessity. But when a few days were past after the Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocydes, the most notable of their countrymen. These also being arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had so done, straightway appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry; and presently it was bruited about through all the Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death. Then their general Harmocydes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for

ὑμεῶν χρεὸν ἐστὶ γενεσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλλησι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν."

18. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππῆες ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσποντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπήκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντῃ συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππῶται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξεσιν τραπομένους, δέισαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὗτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαι· οἱ ἱππῶται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Θαρσέετε ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἔόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίησι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὗτ' ὦν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρώντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων

## BOOK IX. 17-19

every one of you to play the man ; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas." Thus he exhorted them.

18. But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians they rode at them as it were to slay them, and drew their bows to shoot, and 'tis like that some did even shoot. The Phocians fronted them every way, drawing in together and closing their ranks to the best of their power ; whereat the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. Now I cannot with exactness say if they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but, when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away back (for such was Mardonius' command),—or if Mardonius desired to test the Phocians' mettle. But when the horsemen had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this message : "Men of Phocis, be of good courage ; for you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and not as it was reported to me. And now push this war zealously forward ; for you will outdo neither myself nor the king in the rendering of service." <sup>1</sup> Thus far went the Phocian business.

19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they were come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth to war, they deemed it was not for them to be behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Wherefore they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of

<sup>1</sup> That is, serve us and we will serve you.

## HERODOTUS

τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἑλευσίνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι. ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευόμενους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

20. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίου, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχου Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ Πέρσησι, τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὥς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναικας σφέας ἀπεκάλειον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσσδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ. προσβαλλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κήρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. “Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίη τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξις, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοιτας τὴν τάξιν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Πausanίης δὲ ἀπε-  
180

sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis ; and when they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favourable, they held on their march further, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

20. The Greeks not coming down into the plain, Mardonius sent against them all his horse, whose commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call Macistius), a man much honoured among the Persians ; he rode a Nesaeon horse that had a golden bit and was at all points gaily adorned. Thereupon the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged them by squadrons, doing them much hurt thereby and calling them women.

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was openest to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke : "From the men of Megara to their allies : We cannot alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have till now held our ground with patience and valour, though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were first appointed ; and now be well assured that we will leave our post, except you send others to take our place therein." Thus the herald reported, and

πειράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

22. Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἳ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιούδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθὼν τις τὸ ποιούμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσω μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὥς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

23. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν



## BOOK IX. 21-23

Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer themselves to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. None other would go; but the Athenians took it upon themselves, even three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

22. These were they who took it upon themselves, and were posted at Erythrae in advance of the whole Greek army; and they took with them the archers also. For a long time they fought; and the end of the battle was as I shall show. The horsemen charged by squadrons; and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was smitten in the side by an arrow, and rearing up in its pain it threw Masistius; who when he fell was straightway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was slain fighting, though at first they could not kill him; for the fashion of his armour was such, that he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales that was within it; and it was all in vain that they smote at the cuirass, till someone saw what they did and stabbed him in the eye, so that he fell dead. But as chance would have it the rest of the horsemen knew nought of this; for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die; and they wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. But as soon as they halted they saw what they lacked, since there was none to order them; and when they perceived what had chanced, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body.

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,

## HERODOTUS

ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβοήθει, ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μὲν νυν μῦθοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὥς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἵππῳται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὦν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλευόντο ὅ τι χρεὼν εἴη ποιεῖν· ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης εἰούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποίησαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχώ ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρὰ τε Πέρσησι καὶ βασιλεί.

25. Οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσιν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξεις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἑρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐνδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ

they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

24. When the cavalry returned to the camp, Mardonius and all the army made very great mourning for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loud and long; for the sound of it was heard over all Boeotia, inasmuch as a man was dead who was next to Mardonius most esteemed by all Persia and the king.

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withstanding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataeae; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,

## HERODOTUS

εοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἦισαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὅχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδον χώρου.

26. Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὠθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. “Ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρώντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον· τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ὄντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὦν λόγος Ὑλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἶη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ μουννομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἣν μὲν Ὑλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἣν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ

they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

26. There, in the ordering of their battle, arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians; for each of them claimed that they should hold the second<sup>1</sup> wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. First said the Tegeans: "Of all the allies we have ever had the right to hold this post, in all campaigns ancient and late of the united Peloponnesian armies, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death essayed to return into the Peloponnese; that right we then gained, for the achievement which we will relate. When we mustered at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and encamped over against the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus<sup>2</sup> proclaimed his counsel that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose for their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. The Peloponnesians resolving that this should be so, they swore a compact that if Hyllus should vanquish the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself vanquished, then

<sup>1</sup> That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Heracles.



ἐμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον εἰς Πελοπόννησον. προσκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντῆς Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχης τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὑλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισι γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μὲν νυν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φάμεν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότερα εἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὦν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὐτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά.”

27. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. “Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἐκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρότοις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὕτω φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο



contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, and not seek to return to the Peloponnese till a hundred years were past. Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eëropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew Hyllus. For that feat of arms the Peloponnesians of that day granted us this also among other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, that in all united campaigns we should ever lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you will; but this we say, that our place is at the head of the other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields on which we have fought with happy event in regard to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians should hold the second wing; for never early or late have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour an hereditary right to the place of honour. These Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-

## HERODOTUS

μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην  
 πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐ-  
 ρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχη  
 νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον.  
 τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ  
 Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ  
 ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ  
 θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν  
 ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερ-  
 μώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν  
 ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων  
 ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε εἶντες  
 ὦντοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε εἶντες  
 φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μὲν νυν  
 ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ  
 ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ  
 ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ  
 γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μῦνοι  
 Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ  
 ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ  
 ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἄρ'  
 οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ  
 τούτου μῦνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ  
 τοιῷδε τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι  
 εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει  
 ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ'  
 οὔστινας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα

clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we and none other received them<sup>1</sup>; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices<sup>2</sup> against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from our feat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that one feat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

<sup>1</sup> Hyllus, pursued by his enemy Eurystheus, took refuge with the Athenians, and with their aid defeated and killed Eurystheus and his sons.

<sup>2</sup> When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."

εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὥς πεισομένων.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονοκότερους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἔοντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἴλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὀπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὗροντο παρὰ Πausανίῳ ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἑρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλῆες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-

men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey." Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from



ληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

29. Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, σύμπαντες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτὰ. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τότε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξις πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἔόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἕκαστον ἑὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἑνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεούσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες· παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιέοντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπε-



Pale in Cephallenia; after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians, on the left wing, eight thousand men; their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus.

29. All these, save the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the foreigner; as regarding the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war; the light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30. So the sum of all the light-armed men that were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataeae, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand, lacking eighteen hundred. But the Thespians who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors<sup>1</sup> of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed, and encamped by the Asopus.

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

<sup>1</sup> That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.

κήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξεις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὃ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυννίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τिरυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἑρετριέας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακικήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτῶν τε καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Μηλιέων τε καὶ Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Φωκῶν τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμῆδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠὔξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἡγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιήν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔοντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-

mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidaea and Orchomenus and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, fronting the Ampraciot, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Locrians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,

δόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἳ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιοφόροι, οἳ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἔων ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἔοντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξη ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὥς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὥς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαύτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἑλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἔοντα Ἥλειον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Bk. II. 164.

<sup>2</sup> The Iamidæ were a priestly family, the members of

he arrayed against the Athenians Macedonians also and the dwellers about Thessaly.

32. These that I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius that were of most note and account; but there was also in the army a mixed multitude of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries,<sup>1</sup> who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the foreigners, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown; as for the Greek allies of Mardonius, none knows the number of them, for they were not counted; but as far as guessing may serve, I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33. When they had all been arrayed in their nations and their battalions, on the second day thereafter both armies offered sacrifice. For the Greeks, Tisamenus it was that sacrificed; for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan,<sup>2</sup> and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. For when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning issue, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not under-

which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadae were also Elean priests, but quite separate from the Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing *Κλυτιάδην*.



ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι  
ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ  
πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν  
Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν.  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικούς ἀλλ'  
ἐς ἀρήιους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον,  
μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι  
ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεύσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν  
πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὀρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους  
Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν  
τοῦτο ἀνέτιμα, σημαίνων σφι ὡς ἦν μιν πολιήτην  
σφέτερον ποιήσονται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες,  
ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιήται  
δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ  
μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ  
δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ  
τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ  
γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὔτω ἔτι ἔφη  
ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν  
ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην  
ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

34. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα,  
ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιλήην τε καὶ πολιτήην αἰτεομέ-  
νους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ  
γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο  
ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς  
νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληΐης τὸ  
ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ'  
ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν,

<sup>1</sup> The five events of the Pentathlon were running, jumping, wrestling, and throwing of the spear and the discus.



standing that oracle, he betook himself to bodily exercises, thinking so to win in such-like sports; and having trained himself for the Five Contests,<sup>1</sup> he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. But the Lacedaemonians perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spake of the lists not of sport but of war; and they essayed to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars, jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. But when he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, with this knowledge he set his price higher, and made it known to them that for no reward would he do their will save for the gift of full citizenship and all a citizen's rights. Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and ceased wholly from their request; but when the dreadful menace of this Persian host overhung them they consented and granted his demand. But when he saw their purpose changed, he said that not even so and with that only would he be content; his brother Hegias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself.

34. By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship and for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives would fain hire him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness,<sup>2</sup> Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages; which the Argives could not suffer, and so departed; but when the madness spread among their women,

<sup>2</sup> According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.

οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἦσαν δώσουντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορεύεται ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, ἣν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδώσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληΐης, οὐ ποιήσῃν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

35. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἥλεϊος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει. μῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἶδε ἐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36. Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἑλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὐ.

37. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλὰ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἠγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἥλεϊόν

thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

35. Thus the Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted all his demand. When they had granted him this also, then did Tisamenus of Elis, now become a Spartan, ply his divination for them and aid them to win five very great victories. None on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataeae; next that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaea; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.<sup>1</sup>

36. This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks in the lands of Plataeae. Now the sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they should but defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack.

37. But Mardonius' sacrifices also boded nought to his liking if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself; for he too used the Greek manner of sacrifice; Hegesistratus

<sup>1</sup> The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaea.

τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἔοντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἄρθμῃν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὑγιῆς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθῆς Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἦλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38. Ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ

## BOOK IX. 37-38

of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and doomed to die by the Spartans for the much harm that he had done them. Being in this evil case, inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and like to be very grievously maltreated ere his death, he did a deed well nigh past believing: being made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon that was brought in some wise into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such hardihood as we have never known; reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. This done, he burrowed through the wall out of the way of the guards that kept ward over him, and so escaped to Tegea; all night he journeyed and all day he hid and lay close in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him; and they were greatly amazed, seeing the half of his foot cut off and lying there, but not being able to find the man himself. Thus did he then escape from the Lacedaemonians and take refuge in Tegea, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon; and after he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity that he bore them brought him no good at the last; for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthus, and slew him.

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Plataean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,



## HERODOTUS

κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον Δευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἐρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὥς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὥς ἀπολάμφοιτο συχνούς.

39. Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίου λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἶποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνεον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὥς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρὰ τὸ Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήϊσαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἢ μέντοι ἵππος ἢ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλε-



and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

39. The armies had now lain over against each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good; and when night had fallen he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron that leads towards Plataeae, which pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the Oaks' Heads. This despatch of the horsemen was no fruitless one; for they caught five hundred beasts of burden issuing into the low country, bringing provision from the Peloponnese for the army, and men that came with the waggons; having taken which quarry the Persians slew without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they set what remained in their midst and drove them to Mardonius and his camp.

40. After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle; for though the foreigners came to the Asopus to make trial of the Greeks' purpose, neither army crossed it. Howbeit Mardonius' horse was ever besetting and troubling the Greeks; for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and

μον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

41. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὥς δὲ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἳ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῶ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδονίος τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. βουλευομένων δὲ αἶδε ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι, ἥ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὥς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἐνθα σῖτόν τε σφι ἐσσηνεῖσθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιέοντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὥς προειδότες πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρῃ τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρῃ καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῶ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἥγησις-

## BOOK IX. 40-41

were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter ; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this ; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem ; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas ; let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty ; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge ; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation ; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already ; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor

τράτου ἔαν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

42. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἶδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδόντων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὐτε ἵμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὐτε ἐπιχειροῦμεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὖνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.” ταῦτά σφι εἶπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρη τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ'

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. to do violence, compel the gods, like “superos votis fatigare” in Latin.

## BOOK IX. 41-43

seek to wring good from them,<sup>1</sup> but rather give battle after Persian custom.

42. None withstood this argument, so that his opinion prevailed ; for it was he and not Artabazus who was generalissimo of the army by the king's commission. He sent therefore for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks that were with him, and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. They that were summoned said nought, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but deeming it perilous to speak ; then said Mardonius himself: "Since, therefore, you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you out of the full knowledge that I have. There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and there all perish after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. We, therefore, knowing this same oracle, will neither approach that temple nor essay to plunder it ; and in so far as destruction hangs on that, none awaits us. Wherefore as many of you as wish the Persians well may rejoice for that, as knowing that we shall overcome the Greeks." Having thus spoken he gave command to have all prepared and set in fair order for the battle that should be joined at the next day's dawn.

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the

## HERODOTUS

οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην  
τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ πεποιημένα,

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ  
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰνγὴν,  
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε  
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μου-  
σαίῳ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων  
ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

44. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ  
παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ  
ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς  
προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίῃ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρα-  
τόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ,  
τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς  
τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός  
τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι  
στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων  
οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
στρατηγούς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὥς ἄνθρωπος  
ἦκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων,  
ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγούς  
δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

45. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἶποντο  
ἐς τὰς φυλακάς· ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρος τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην  
ὕμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύ-

<sup>1</sup> Referring to a legendary expedition of these north-  
western tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in  
particular.

<sup>2</sup> A little to the N.W. of Thebes.



BOOK IX. 43-45

army of the Encheleës.<sup>1</sup> But there is a prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle :

By Thermodon's stream and the grassgrown banks  
of Asopus

Muster of Greeks for fight, and the ring of a  
foreigner's war-cry,

Many a Median archer by death untimely o'er-  
taken

There in the battle shall fall when the day of his  
doom is upon him ;

this prophecy, and others like to it that were made by Musaeus, I know to have been spoken of the Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tanagra and Glisas.<sup>2</sup>

44. After this questioning concerning oracles, and Mardonius' exhortation, night came on and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night was far spent and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the men wrapt in deepest slumber, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts and sought to have speech of their generals. The greater part of the sentries abiding where they were, the rest ran to their generals, and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp, imparting no other word save that he would have speech of the generals and called them by their names.

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts ; and when they were come Alexander said to them : " Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that

μενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πausανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον καὶ αὐτ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὦν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἑᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιεέσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάλληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διανοίαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Πausανίῃ τά περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἡῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς

## BOOK IX. 45-46

you must reveal to none but Pausanias, lest you even be my undoing; in truth I would not tell it to you were it not by reason of my great care for all Hellas; for I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get from the sacrifices omens to his liking; else had you fought long ere this. But now it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and join battle at the first glimmer of dawn; for he is in dread, as I surmise, lest you should muster to a greater host. Therefore I bid you make ready; and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not join battle, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days' provision left. But if this war end as you would wish, then must you take thought how to save me too from slavery, who of my zeal have done so desperate a deed as this for the cause of Hellas, in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent, that so the foreigners may not fall upon you suddenly ere you yet expect them. I that speak am Alexander the Macedonian." With that he rode away back to the camp and his own place therein.

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you

ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἀδαεὲς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπεῖρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰμὲν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἵεναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρασ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπεῖτε εἶδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τὰ περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιεῖν ταῦτα."

47. Ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἡὼς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιούμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δ' ἐπεῖτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Πausanίης, γνούς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ· ὥς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν

have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left." "We, too," the Athenians answered, "even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say."

47. Both being satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians marked that and made it known to Mardonius; who, when he heard, forthwith essayed to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians along to front the Lacedaemonians. But when Pausanias perceived what was this that was being done, he saw that his act was known, and led the Spartans back to the right wing; and Mardonius did in like manner on the left of his army.

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: "Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your

ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὥς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλούμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσησι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι εἶντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὔρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεῖτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν."

49. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαμβάνοντα. ὃ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκη ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ὥς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππότες, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντες τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε εἶντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μούνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ



station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men's work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What hinders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

49. Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,

δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50. Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πausanίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπее· οὐτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἳ τε σφέων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὥς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκληρίατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιούμενοι, εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἥ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἡπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ῥέει κάτω εἰς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει εἰς τὸν αὐτό. οὕνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη· θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. εἰς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχῃσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μὴ

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<sup>1</sup> Several streams flow N. or N.W. from Cithaeron, and unite eventually to form the small river Oëroë. Between two of these there is a long strip of land, which is perhaps

## BOOK IX. 49-51

whereas the Asopus was near; but they would ever go to the spring, because they were barred from the Asopus, not being able to draw water from that river by reason of the horsemen and the arrows.

50. In this turn of affairs, seeing that their army was cut off from water and disordered by the horsemen, the generals of the Greeks betook themselves to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning this and other matters; for there were other causes that troubled them more than what I have told; they had no food left, and their followers whom they had sent into the Peloponnese to bring provision thence had been cut off by the horsemen, and could not make their way to the army.

51. So they resolved in their council that if the Persians delayed through that day to give battle, they would go to the Island.<sup>1</sup> This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, whereby their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataeae. It is like to an island on dry land, by reason that the river in its course down from Cithaeron into the plain is parted into two channels, and there is about three furlongs' space between till presently the two channels unite again; and the name of that river is Oëroë, who (say the people of the country) was the daughter of Asopus. To that place then they planned to remove, that they might have water in plenty for their use, and not be harmed by the the νῆσος; but it is not now actually surrounded by water, as Herodotus describes it.

For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of Plataeae, see the Introduction to this volume.

γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχύνειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὀρέων τὸ ποιούμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Πausanίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκείνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἦν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὥς οὐ χρεὸν εἶη ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

54. Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μόνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεατέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίεον τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὥς ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Πausanίην τὸ χρεὸν εἶη ποιεῖν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκητο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώραν τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νεῖκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὃ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Πausanίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούρους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ

## BOOK IX. 53-55

of the Pitante<sup>1</sup> battalion, refused to flee from the strangers or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council lately held. Pausanias and Euryanax liked little enough that Amompharetus should disobey them; but they disliked yet more that his refusing should compel them to abandon the Pitante battalion; for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Thus considering, they held the Laconian army unmoved, and strove to persuade Amompharetus that he did not aright.

54. So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well knowing that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. But when the army removed from its place, they sent a horseman of their own who should see if the Spartans were essaying to march or if they were wholly without any purpose of departure, and should ask Pausanias withal what the Athenians must do.

55. When the messenger was come to the Lacedaemonians, he saw them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be imperilled by abiding there alone, they could in no

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides (1. 20) denies the existence of a *Πιτανάτης λόχος* as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana *v.* iii. 55.

ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Πausανίῳ ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκείνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Πausανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

56. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἡὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Πausανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἳ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πausανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερέοντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Πausανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέη τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν



wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

56. So the messenger went back to the Athenians. But when dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias having all this time held his army halted, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following; for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; and indeed such was the event. The Athenians set themselves in array and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who clung close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron, to escape from the Persian horse, but the Athenians marched down into the plain instead.

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its

## HERODOTUS

λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος· τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπη τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἶον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεὶ, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιοχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήμιον ἔλεγε “ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὀρώντες ἔρημα ; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρῶτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξις εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιοχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρώμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὰ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι  
228

arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Moloïs and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the foreigners' cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeïus, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Aleuas! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more at Artabazus, that he should be

Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὥς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵεναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστν πολιορκη-  
 σομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται.  
 καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος. νῦν δὲ ἐκεί-  
 νοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ  
 διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν  
 τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.”

59. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ δια-  
 βάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ὥς δὴ ἀποδιδρυσκόντων, ἐπείχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούρους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ  
 τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίου ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ  
 κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὀρώντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων  
 ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν τὰ σημήια, καὶ  
 ἐδίωκον ὥς ποδῶν ἕκαστοι εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ  
 οὔδενι κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπήισαν  
 ὥς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· Πανσανίης δέ,  
 ὥς προσέκειτο ἢ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ  
 δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράν-  
 των. νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον  
 ἡμῖν· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περι-  
 στέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὄρμησε  
 ἀρχὴν ἢ ἵππος, χρήν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’  
 ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας  
 βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπαντα κεχώ-

so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians."

59. With that, he led the Persians at speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone that was his goal; for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the foreign battalions straightway raised their standards and pursued likewise, each at the top of his speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line.

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message: "Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you; but now, seeing that the whole



ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην  
 μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα  
 αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν,  
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν  
 θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα  
 τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι,  
 ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν."

61. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὀρμέατο  
 βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφι ἤδη  
 στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλή-  
 νων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι  
 δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας  
 ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ  
 Τεγεῆται, ἔοντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν  
 πεντακισμῦριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ  
 οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφα-  
 γιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ  
 στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ  
 σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
 χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο·  
 φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν  
 τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζο-  
 μένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινο-  
 μένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausανίην πρὸς τὸ  
 "Ηραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν,  
 χρήζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς  
 ἐλπίδος.

62. Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξ-  
 αναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα



brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

61. When the Athenians heard that, they essayed to succour the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might; but when their march was already begun they were set upon by the Greeks posted over against them, who had joined themselves to the king; wherefore they could now send no aid, being troubled by the foe that was closest. Thus it was that the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans stood alone; men-at-arms and light-armed together, there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand; and they offered sacrifice, the better to join battle with Mardonius and the army that was with him. But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that, the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Here at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of

μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausανίῳ ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἦσσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἔοντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίῃν, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνέες τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὥς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνον τεταγμένον ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοις. πλείστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἢ ἐσθῆς ἔρημος ἐούσα ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἔοντες γυμνήτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἀπάσῃ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγό-

the Lacedaemonians grew to be favourable; which being at last vouchsafed to them, they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. And first they fought for the fence of shields; and when that was down, thereafter the battle waxed fierce and long about the temple of Demeter itself, till they grappled and thrust; for the foreigners laid hold of the spears and broke them short. Now the Persians were neither the less valorous nor the weaker; but they had no armour, and moreover they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft; they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing.

63. Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowing many Lacedaemonians; but when Mardonius was slain and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, fallen likewise, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what chiefly wrought them harm was that they wore no armour over their raiment, and fought as it were naked against men fully armed.

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the

νων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὧτοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἔοντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἔοντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

65. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

66. Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἦννε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐὼν· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὥς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἐωυτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶντὸ ἰέναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρώσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὥς

## BOOK IX. 64-66

rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was slain by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note; who long after the Persian business did in time of war lead three hundred men to battle at Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

65. But at Plataeae, the Persians being routed by the Lacedaemonians fled in disorder to their own camp and within the wooden walls that they had made in the lands of Thebes. And herein is a marvellous thing, that though the battle was hard by the grove of Demeter there was no sign that any Persian had been slain in the precinct, or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in unconsecrated ground; and I judge—if it be not a sin to judge of the ways of heaven—that the goddess herself denied them entry, for that they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis.

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first disliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, even as many as forty thousand men; knowing well what would be the event of the battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with purpose fixed, bidding them follow him all together whither he should lead them, according to whatsoever they should see to be his intent; and with that command he made pretence



ἐς μάχην ἤγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὥς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

67. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχρόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὥς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον.

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## BOOK IX. 66-69

of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

67. So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks that were on the king's side fought of set purpose ill; but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans that took the Persian part showed no small zeal in the battle, and had no will to fight slackly, insomuch that three hundred of their first and best were there slain by the Athenians. But at last the Boeotians too yielded; and they fled to Thebes, not by the way that the Persians had fled and all the multitude of the allies, a multitude that had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any feat of arms.

68. This flight of theirs ere they had even closed, because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that all the fortune of the foreigners hung. Thus they all fled, save only the cavalry, Boeotian and other; which did in so far advantage the fleeing men as it kept ever between them and their enemies, and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight.

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a

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## BOOK IX. 66-69

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69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a

νικῶεν οἱ μετὰ Πausανίew· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσιν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱοῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειαῖοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππῶται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχες Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

70. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος, ὥς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὥς ἡδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίῃ ἐρρωμενεστέρῃ. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῶ πλεον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν· ὥς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίῃ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τεύχεος καὶ ἥριπον· τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων εἴδον χαλκὴν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν

battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the levellest way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which onfall they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated



φάττην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸντο, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἶα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημένοι ἀνθρώπων· παρῇν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἑνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημῆνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηενείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύνω καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν

<sup>1</sup> These figures must refer to the *ὁπλίται* alone, leaving out of account the Laconian *περίοικοι* and the rest of the light-



## BOOK IX. 70-71

this manger of Mardonius in the temple of Athene Alea; all else that they took they brought into the common stock, as did the rest of the Greeks. As for the foreigners, they drew no more to a head once the wall was down, but they were crazed with panic fear, as men hunted down in a narrow space where many myriads were herded together; and such a slaughter were the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand, that remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarce three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all; of the Tegeans, seventeen; and of the Athenians, fifty-two.<sup>1</sup>

71. Among the foreigners they that fought best were the Persian foot and the horse of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius; among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians bore themselves gallantly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valour. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these vanquished the foes opposed to them) that the Lacedaemonians met the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, he that bore himself by far the best was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonoured for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae;<sup>2</sup> and the next after him in valour were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharetus. Nevertheless when there was talk, and question who had borne himself

armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,300 Greeks fell at Plataea.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. vii. 231.

## HERODOTUS

οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερώς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίας, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὔτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

72. Οὔτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐτρώματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δ' ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυθανάτεε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμειμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὥς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι

most bravely, those Spartans that were there judged that Aristodemus had achieved great feats because by reason of the reproach under which he lay he plainly wished to die, and so pressed forward in frenzy from his post, whereas Posidonius had borne himself well with no desire to die, and must in so far be held the better man. This they may have said of mere jealousy; but all the aforesaid who were slain in that fight received honour, save only Aristodemus; he, because he desired death by reason of the reproach afore-mentioned, received none.

72. These won the most renown of all that fought at Plataeae. Callicrates is not among them; for he died away from the battle, he that, when he came to the army, was the goodliest Lacedaemonian, aye, or Greek, in the Hellas of that day. He, when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow where he sat in his place; and while his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Plataean, that it was no grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, for all his eager desire so to do.

73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes son of Euty-chides is said to have won renown, a man of the township of Decelea; that Decelea whose people once did a deed that was for all time serviceable, as the Athenians themselves say. For of old when the sons of Tyndarus strove to win Helen<sup>1</sup> back and

<sup>1</sup> According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.

ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ  
 πλήθει καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες  
 ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς  
 Δεκελέας, οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἄχθόμενόν τε τῇ  
 Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ  
 Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν  
 πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, γὰς δὴ  
 Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι.  
 τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ  
 ἔργου ἀτελείῃ τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελέει ἐς τόδε  
 αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον  
 τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον  
 Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων  
 τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης  
 ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ  
 ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγο-  
 μένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστήρος τοῦ  
 θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκὴν ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν  
 σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενός τοῖσι  
 πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι  
 ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσαι μὴ δυ-  
 ναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο  
 τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος  
 μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ  
 πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ'  
 ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης  
 ἐφόρεε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην  
 σιδηρέην.

broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the country's oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.<sup>1</sup>

74. Of that township was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle; concerning which, two tales are told. By the first, he bore an anchor of iron made fast to the girdle of his cuirass with a chain of bronze; which anchor he would ever cast whenever he drew nigh to his enemies in onset, that so the enemies as they left their ranks might not avail to move him from his place; and when they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would weigh his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale; but the second that is told is at variance with the first, and relates that he bore no anchor of iron made fast to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he ever whirled round and never kept still, had on it an anchor for device.

<sup>1</sup> But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).

75. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἰγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετὰλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαυτὰ σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης ἐχώρει ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἑόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνα διέποντα Πausανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὖνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Pausανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸδε ὤνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἠγητορίδew τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίῃ δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.” ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Γύναι, θάρσее καὶ ὥς ἰκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθεῖα λέγουσα καὶ εἰς



## BOOK IX. 75-76

75. Another famous feat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glaucon, he was slain at Datus<sup>1</sup> by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

76. Immediately after the Greeks had laid low the foreigners at Plataeae, there came to them a woman, deserting from the enemy, who was the concubine of Pharandates, a Persian, son of Teaspis. She, learning that the Persians were destroyed and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest raiment that she had, and so lighting from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were yet at the slaughtering; and seeing Pausanias ordering all that business, whose name and country she knew from her often hearing of it, she knew that it was he, and thus besought him, clasping his knees: "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta! from captive slavery; for you have done me good service till this hour, by making an end of yonder men, that regard not aught that is divine in heaven or earth. Coan am I by birth, daughter to Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian laid violent hands on me and held me prisoner." "Be of good cheer, lady," Pausanias answered, "for that you are my suppliant, and for your tale withal, if

<sup>1</sup> In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyd. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.

θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδew τοῦ Κρόου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων.” ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεούσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἤκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχαρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἤκον Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν Λάμπων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἴeto πρὸς Πausανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. “ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυές μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ποιήσον, ὅπως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδew

you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in charge to those of the ephors who were present, and thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.

77. Immediately after the coming of this woman, came the men of Mantinea, when all was over; who, learning that they were come too late for the battle, were greatly distressed, and said that they deserved to punish themselves therefor. Hearing that the Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have pursued after them as far as Thessaly; but the Lacedaemonians would not suffer them to pursue fleeing men; and returning to their own land the Mantineans banished the leaders of their army from the country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis, who also went away sorrowful in like manner as the Mantineans, and after their departure banished their leaders likewise. Such were the doings of the Mantineans and Eleans.

78. Now there was at Plataeae in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most unrighteous counsel, and having made haste to come said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won greater renown than any Greek known to men. But now you must finish what remains to do, that your fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas

γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεται ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.”

79. “Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὃ δ’ ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινήτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἢ περ Ἑλλήσι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ’ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσης, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής.”

80. “Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Πausανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς ληΐης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ

## BOOK IX. 78-80

was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

79. So said Lampon, thinking to please. But Pausanias answered him thus: "Sir Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought; but you have missed the mark of right judgment; for first you exalt me on high and my fatherland and my deeds withal, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you counsel me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I so do; but that were an act more proper for foreigners than for Greeks, and one that we deem matter of blame even in foreigners. Nay, for myself, I would fain in this business find no favour either with the people of Aegina or whoso else is pleased by such acts; it is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deed and righteous speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I hold that he has had full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honour to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning, that you come not again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel; and be thankful now that you go unpunished."

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls



## HERODOTUS

ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσεούς καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἁμαξέων εὔρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσεούς, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἴλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.

81. Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρῆνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυν χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι. Πausanίῃ δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες ἵπποι τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτως καὶ τᾶλλα χρήματα.

<sup>1</sup> The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists,



and cups and other drinking-vessels ; and sacks they found on wains, wherein were seen cauldrons of gold and silver ; and they stripped from the dead that lay there their armlets and torques, and daggers of gold ; as for many-coloured raiment, it was nothing regarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal ; but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans ; insomuch that the Aeginetans thereby laid the foundation of their great fortunes, by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

81. Having brought all the stuff together they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, whereof was made and dedicated that tripod that rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent,<sup>1</sup> nearest to the altar ; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, whereof was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high ; and another for the god of the Isthmus, whereof came a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high ; all which having set apart they divided the remnant, and each received according to his desert of the concubines of the Persians, and the gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff, and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataeae, no man says ; but I think that they also received gifts ; but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things likewise, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine ; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note *ad loc.*

## HERODOTUS

82. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. Πausανίην ὦν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίεον ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Πausανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δεῖπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλῳτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Πausανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Πausανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δεῖπνου παρασκευήν, “Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.” ταῦτα μὲν Πausανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83. Ὅστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὖρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τότε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἓνα χῶρον· εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐοῦσα

82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83. But in later days many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and all else. Moreover there were sights to see among these dead, when their bones (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh: there was found a skull whereof the bone was all

ὄστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω<sup>1</sup> τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὄστέου πάντας τοὺς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὅστέα ἐφάνη.

84. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ<sup>2</sup> Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυνθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν λήϊν διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἑόντες

<sup>1</sup> MS. καὶ τὸ ἄνω; Stein suggests κατὰ, which is here adopted.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ἔπειτε δέ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein's suggested ἐπεὶ γε δὴ (= for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.

## BOOK IX. 83-85

one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits' stature.

84. As for the body of Mardonius, it was made away with on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with exactness say; but I have heard of very many of all countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes; but which of them it was that stole away and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for a certainty, albeit some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial.

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoil at Plataeae, buried their dead each severally in their place. The Lacedaemonians made three vaults; there they buried their "irens,"<sup>1</sup> among whom were Posidonius and Amompharetus and Philocyon and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus the Lacedaemonians buried their dead; the Tegeans buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did likewise with their own dead; and so did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been slain by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae,

<sup>1</sup> Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.

τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χῶματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἔοντα αὐτῶν.

86. Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἢ Βοιωτὴ πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηρίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθῶς δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην



their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.

86. As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataeae, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian part, but specially of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men; and that, if these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from before the city till they should have taken it. Being thus resolved, they came with this intent on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men; and the Thebans refusing this surrender, they laid their lands waste and assaulted the walls.

87. Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying, when nineteen days were past, Timagenidas thus spoke to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes be taken or we be delivered to them, now let not the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake; nay, if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian part); but if they be besieging the town for no other cause save to have us, then we will give

παρέξομεν.” κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπέκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Πανσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

88. Ὡς δὲ ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταίτιους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβησι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνούς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφί παῖσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγορενε οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἐγὼ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλὼν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί.

## BOOK IX. 87-89

ourselves up to be tried by them." This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88. On these terms they made an agreement; but Attaginus escaped out of the town; his sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were nowise accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on their trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery; but Pausanias had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army, and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. Such were the doings at Plataeae and Thebes.

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching

τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπήλανε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνούς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενεύουσι· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὐρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς· θεοὺς τε κοινούς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον· εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιωμαχοὺς κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσιν

close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it." So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

90. Now on the selfsame day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataeae, it so fell out that they suffered a like fate at Mycale in Ionia. For the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian being then in quarters at Delos, there came to them certain messengers from Samos, to wit, Lampon son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras; these the Samians had sent, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the despot Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made despot of Samos. When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently: "If the Ionians but see you," said he, "they will revolt from the Persians; and the foreigners will not stand; but if perchance they do stand, you will have such a prey as never again"; and he prayed them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the foreigner away. That, said he, would be an easy matter for them; "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours; and if you

μὴ δόλω αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἔτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι εἶναι.

91. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, “ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;” ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Ἡγησίστρατος.” ὃ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε “Δέκομαι τὸν οἶωνόν τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου, ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεις ὅκως αὐτός τε δούς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσει καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ εὐόντες οἶδε, ἧ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους.”

92. Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὄρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἶωνόν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεῦμενος.

93. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφί Δηϊφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Εὐήνιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἰρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν παρ’ Ὀρικὸν λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται



have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

91. This Samian stranger being so earnest in entreaty, Leutychides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or that heaven happily prompted him thereto), "Sir Samian, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus,"<sup>1</sup> said he. Then Leutychides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: "I accept the omen of your name, Sir Samian; now do you see to it that ere you sail hence you and these that are with you pledge yourselves that the Samians will be our zealous allies."

92. Thus he spoke, and then and there added the deed thereto; for straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutychides bade Hegesistratus take ship with the Greeks, for the good omen of his name.

93. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and won favourable augury; their diviner was Deïphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man's father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate. There is at the aforesaid Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the day-time is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Lacmon through the lands of Apollonia and issues into the sea by the haven of Oricum; by night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year; for the people of

<sup>1</sup> Hegesistratus = Army-leader.

Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὥς ἐξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ὥς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὥς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. πρόφанта δέ σφι ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεῖτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμήσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλῃται καὶ δικαιοῖ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἱ δὲ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει· ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο,

## BOOK IX. 93-94

Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is folded in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time whereof I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves came past his guard into the cave, killing about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, being minded to restore what was lost by buying others. But this matter was not hid from the people of Apollonia; and when it came to their knowledge they haled him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius; but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield her fruits as aforetime; and a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, "for we ourselves" (said they) "sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him ere you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we will ourselves give Evenius such a gift as will make many men to deem him happy."

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would

εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστήναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὺς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἴλετο εἶπας εἴ τις οἱ δοίῃ ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἡπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ἥδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλει· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες “Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα.” ὃ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίησε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἴλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστός γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τότε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

96. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῆς πρὸς Καλαμίσοις, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραιον τὸ ταύτῃ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοις γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν

choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. He, knowing nought of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he deemed to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would forgo his wrath, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. They that sat by him waited for no further word than that, and said: "Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them." At that he was very angry, for he learnt thereby the whole story and saw that they had cheated him; but they bought from the possessors and gave him what he had chosen; and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, so that he won fame thereby.

95. Deïphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and practised divination for the army. But I have heard it said ere now, that Deïphonus was no son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name, and wrought for wages up and down Hellas.

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Here that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phœnicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea; for they

## HERODOTUS

ἔδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον εἶντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλήθους μὲν ἦν ἑξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνείρυσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νεῖλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἡμερα, καὶ σκύλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο.

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγόντων ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο ὃ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς



## BOOK IX. 96-98

deemed themselves overmatched; and the reason of their making for the mainland was, that they might lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia; there were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

97. With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses<sup>1</sup> at Mycale to the Gaeson and Scolopoïs,<sup>2</sup> where is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles, when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus), there they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and trunks of orchard trees that they cut down; and they drove in stakes round the fence, and prepared for siege or victory, making ready of deliberate purpose for either event.

98. When the Greeks learnt that the foreigners were off and away to the mainland, they were ill-pleased to think that their enemy had escaped them, and doubted whether to return back or make sail for the Hellespont. At the last they resolved that they would do neither, but sail to the mainland; and equipping themselves therefore with gangways and all else needful for a sea-fight, they

<sup>1</sup> Demeter and Persephone.

<sup>2</sup> The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mycale; Scolopoïs, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).

Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχριμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οἱ ὑμῶν τυγχάνουσιν ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνήσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμῶν πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος.” ὧν τὸς δὲ οὗτος ἔων τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἡ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἡ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίει· οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονεῖν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὄπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὦν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω

## BOOK IX. 98-99

held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: "Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you: when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry 'Hebe': and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears." The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles' purpose at Artemisium<sup>1</sup>; either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

99. After this counsel of Leutychides', the Greeks next brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they put themselves in array. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians' armour, suspecting that they favoured the Greeks; for indeed when the foreigners' ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes' army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provision for the way; for which cause in especial they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes' enemies.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. viii. 22.

## HERODOTUS

πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὥς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώραν. ἐποίευν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, προσήισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκῆιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὥς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῶεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὲ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἑλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τότε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πανσανίῳ Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρῶτ' ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλῃ· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε

Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

100. The Greeks, having made all preparation, advanced their line against the foreigners. As they went, a rumour sped all about the army, and a herald's wand was seen lying by the water-line; and the rumour that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over Mardonius' army at a battle in Boeotia. Now there are many clear proofs of the divine ordering of things; seeing that at this time, the Persians' disaster at Plataeae falling on the same day as that other which was to befall them at Mycale, the rumour came to the Greeks at that place, whereby their army was greatly heartened and the readier to face danger.

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataeae the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat at Plataeae happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same



γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἄρρωδίη σφι, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὔτω ὥς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἢ Ἑλλάς. ὥς μέντοι ἢ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτато, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσδοον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

102. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἢ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατὰ τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὔτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μὲν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὔτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὔτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὔτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-



month was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Mardonius should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

102. As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, through a ravine and among hills; and while the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. While the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle; but when the Athenians and their neighbours in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight was changed. Breaking down the shields they charged all together into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at the last fled within their wall; and the Athenians and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed hard after and rushed in together likewise. But when the walled place was won, the foreigners made no further defence, but took to flight, all save the Persians, who gathered themselves into bands of a few men and fought

χοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι. Ἀρταύτης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

103. Ἐπὶ δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχίριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυῶνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἔοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὥς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκεία τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνάετο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

104. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρεῖν σωτηρίας εἵνεκά σφι, ὥς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνη οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρέοντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποίεοιεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἱ δὲ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artayntes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

103. While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up, and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilaus. As for the Samians who served in the Median army, and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance,<sup>1</sup> did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks; and when the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also thereupon deserted the Persians and attacked the foreigners.

104. The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if haply aught should befall the Persian army such as did befall it, they might have guides to bring them safe to the heights of Mycale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed, for the aforesaid reason, and that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. But they did wholly contrariwise to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last themselves became their worst enemies and slew them. Thus did Ionia for the second time revolt from the Persians.

<sup>1</sup> ἐτεραλκῆς here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side *or* other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one *as opposed to* the other.

105. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἤριστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἔοντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρῳ τῆς Καρυστής χώρας ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κείσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἤριστευσαν.

106. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν λήην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκῃ χρεὸν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσει τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἰωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει εὐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἰωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancrati-<sup>1</sup>um, Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus on a later day met his death in battle at Cynos in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

106. When the Greeks had made an end of most of the foreigners, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty on to the beach, and found certain stores of wealth; then they burnt the ships and the whole of the wall, which having burnt they sailed away. When they were arrived at Samos, they debated in council whether they should dispeuple Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it were best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the foreigners; for it seemed to them impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies for ever; yet if they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would suffer the Ionians to go unpunished. In this matter the Peloponnesians that were in authority were for removing the people from the marts of those Greek nations that had sided with the Persians, and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in; but the Athenians disliked the whole design of dispeupling Ionia, or suffering the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies; and as they resisted hotly, the Peloponnesians

<sup>1</sup> The "pancratium" was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.



καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὀρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκίλης κατειληθέντων, ἑόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδεις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταῦντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίῳ φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακίῳ ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ὅπισθε ἐστεῶς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταῦντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἠρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις.

108. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἑὼν βασι-



yielded. Thus it came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their armaments, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies; who being thus sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont.

107. The few foreigners who escaped were driven to the heights of Mycale, and made their way thence to Sardis. While they were journeying on the road, Masistes son of Darius, who had chanced to be present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artayntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too bad for the hurt he had wrought to the king's house. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. These many insults so angered Artayntes, that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artayntes himself, saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground; meanwhile Masistes' guards came between them. By so doing Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king's brother; for which deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king's gift. They went then on their way without any outcome of the matter, and came to Sardis.

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at

λεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεῖτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ φυγὼν ἀπῖκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικὸς, εὐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὥς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τὼντὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδί τῷ ἐωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλανε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπῖκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἐωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρὸς· οὐνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταῦντη.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξυφήνασα Ἀμηστρις ἢ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξη. ὃ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταῦντην· ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὃ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξη “Δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;” ὃ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὥμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὥς ὥμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοίως ἐγένετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ’ ἄλλο

Sardis ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaynte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaynte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, “Will you give me whatever I ask of you?” and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save

μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσ-  
σων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον  
καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξῃν ἀλλ' ἢ  
ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον.  
ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρὴς  
εἶσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.

110. Καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν·  
μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ  
οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα  
αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν,  
τῇ Μασίστew γυναικὶ ἐβούλενε ὄλεθρον. φυλά-  
ξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλῆιον  
δείπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρα-  
σκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο  
βασιλεύς. οὐνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περσιιστὶ  
μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλει-  
ον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μούνον βασι-  
λεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἡμέρην  
φυλάξασα ἡ Ἄμηστρις χρήζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δο-  
θῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστew γυναῖκα. ὃ δὲ δεινὸν τε  
καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα  
παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην εἶσαν τοῦ πρήγ-  
ματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἐδέετο.

111. Τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ  
ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχήσαι τὸν  
χρήζοντα οὐ σφί δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλῆιου δείπνου  
προκειμένου, κάρτα δὲ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ  
παραδοὺς ποιεῖ ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ  
βούλεται, ὃ δὲ μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν  
λέγει τάδε. “Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς  
καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοις καὶ εἰς  
288

that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

110. Amestris heard that she had the mantle; but when she learnt the truth her anger was not with the girl; she supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife that she plotted to destroy. She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday; the Persian name for it is "tukta," which is in the Greek language "perfect"; on that day (and none other) the king anoints his head, and makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then desired of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. Xerxes held it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was guiltless of the deed supposed; for he knew the purpose of the request.

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man; hear me then;



ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα.” ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. “ὦ Δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες τε νεηνῖαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σευυτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦ μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώπρηγματος τοιοῦδε δέομενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε. “Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνη πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ ὥς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω “Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ με ἀπώλεσας.”

112. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμφαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥίνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδὲν κω ἀκηκοὺς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς



you must live no longer with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place; take her for your own; but put away the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed; "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, bidding me deal thus with my wife? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son; and I am exceeding well content with herself; yet do you bid me put her away and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I deem it a high honour to be accounted worthy of your daughter; but I will do neither the one nor the other. Nay, constrain me not to consent to such a desire; you will find another husband for your daughter as good as I; but suffer me to keep my own wife." Thus answered Masistes; but Xerxes was very angry, and said: "To this pass you are come, Masistes; I will give you no daughter of mine to wife, nor shall you longer live with her that you now have; thus shall you learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said nought but this: "Nay, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

112. But in the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and used Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips likewise, and cut out her tongue, and sent her home thus cruelly used.

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the

τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο εἰς Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δὴ κου τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς εἰς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο εἰς Ἀβυδὸν καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὖρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα εἵνεκεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτη, συνήλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικῶς. εἶχον

havoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

114. The Greeks that had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont first lay to off Lectum<sup>1</sup> under stress of weather, and thence came to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would be still holding fast, and indeed these were the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides thus resolved that they would sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

115. Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighbouring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region; among them there was come from Cardia a Persian named Oeobazus, and he had carried thither the tackle of the bridges. Sestus was held

<sup>1</sup> At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.

δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὄμιλος.

116. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλειω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλειω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσειαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. “Δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατεύσας δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι.” ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλειων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιούντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀφύκτως δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοι σὶ σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἥσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς

## BOOK IX. 115-117

by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artayctes, a cunning man and a wicked; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus<sup>1</sup> son of Iphiclus. This was the way of it: there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings; all of which Artayctes carried off, by the king's gift. "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, whereby all may be taught not to invade your territory." It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, having no suspicion of Artayctes' meaning; whose reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was, that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king. So when the treasure was given him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct; and he would come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it, nor thought that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escape from their attack.

117. But the siege continuing into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence

<sup>1</sup> The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, *νηὸς ἀποθρόσκων* (Hom. *Il.* ii. 701).

έωντῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅπως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφέας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταῦκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὀπισθε τοῦ τεύχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἣν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστῶρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταῦκτην ὕστεροι ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὥς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον εόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδῆσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταῦκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

120. Καί τεφ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι



from home and their ill success at taking the fortress, and entreated their generals to lead them away again; but the generals refused to do that, till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. Thereat the men endured their plight patiently.

118. But they that were within the walls were by now brought to the last extremity, insomuch that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food; but at the last even these failed them, and Artajctes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where their enemies were scarcest, and fled away at nightfall. When morning came, the people of the Chersonesus signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates; and the greater part of the Athenians going in pursuit, the rest stayed to hold the town.

119. Oeobazus made to escape into Thrace; but the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him after their fashion to Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artajctes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers,<sup>1</sup> where after they had defended themselves a long time some of them were slain and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound and carried them to Sestus, and Artajctes and his son likewise with them in bonds.

120. It is told by the people of the Chersonesus that a marvellous thing befell one of them that

<sup>1</sup> A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).

τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλ-  
 λοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον ὅκως περὶ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύ-  
 κτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς  
 ταρίχους ἔφη “Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ  
 τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ σημαί-  
 νει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὺς  
 καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν  
 ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὦν ἄποινά μοι τάδε  
 ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ,  
 ἀντὶ δ’ ἐμευτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα  
 διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος.” ταῦτα  
 ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ  
 ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεω τιμω-  
 ρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες  
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν  
 πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ  
 Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύ-  
 σαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι  
 τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσουντες ἐς τὰ  
 ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ το ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεον  
 τούτων ἐγένετο.

122. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμα-  
 σθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσησι  
 ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκείνοι ὑπολαβόντες

guarded Artajctes: he was frying dried fishes, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe as though they were fishes newly caught. The rest gathered round, amazed at the sight; but when Artajctes saw the strange thing, he called him that was frying the fishes and said to him: "Sir Athenian, be not afraid of this portent; it is not to you that it is sent; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus would signify that though he be dead and dry he has power given him by heaven to take vengeance on me that wronged him. Now therefore I offer a ransom, to wit, payment of a hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple; and I will pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us." But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise; for the people of Elaeus entreated that Artajctes should be put to death in justice to Protesilaus, and the general himself likewise was so minded. So they carried Artajctes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him aloft; and as for his son, they stoned him to death before his father's eyes.

121. This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the tackle of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and the rest of the stuff withal. And in that year nothing further was done.

122. This Artajctes who was crucified was grandson to that Artembares<sup>1</sup> who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid

<sup>1</sup> There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.

Κύρῳ προσήνειακ' ἀκούοντα τάδε. “Ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἶκός δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίας;” Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνειε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ’ ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἴλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

before Cyrus; this was its purport: "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; "Do so," said he; "but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.





## INDEX

*("Xerxes' march" and "Xerxes' army" refer always to the  
invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.)*

- Abae, an oracular shrine in Phocis, I. 46, VIII. 27, 33, 134  
 Abantes, an Euboean tribe, I. 146  
 Abaris, a legendary Hyperborean, IV. 36  
 Abdera, a town of Thrace on the Nestus, I. 168, VI. 46, VII. 109,  
 120, 126; Xerxes' first halt in his flight, VIII. 120.  
 Abrocomas, son of Darius, killed at Thermopylae, VII. 224  
 Abronichus, an Athenian, VIII. 21.  
 Abydos, a town on the Hellespont, V. 117; Xerxes' bridge there,  
 VII. 33 foll., 43, 44, 45, 95, 147, 174, VIII. 117, 130, IX. 114  
 Acanthus, in Chalcidice, on the isthmus of Mt. Athos, one of  
 Xerxes' chief halting-places on his march, VI. 44, VII. 115-117,  
 121, 124  
 Acarnania, in N.W. Greece, II. 10, VII. 126  
 Aceratus, a Delphian prophet, VIII. 37  
 Aces, a river alleged to be E. of the Caspian, III. 117  
 Achaeans, their expulsion of Ionians from Greece, I. 145; in  
 the Trojan war, II. 120; at Croton, VIII. 47; the only stock  
 which has never left the Peloponnese, VIII. 73. Achaeans of  
 Phthiotis, VII. 132, 173, 185-197. Achaea in the Peloponnese,  
 VII. 94, VIII. 36  
 Achaemenes, (1) son of Darius; governor of Egypt under Xerxes,  
 VII. 7; one of Xerxes' admirals, VII. 97; his advice to Xerxes  
 to keep the fleet together, VII. 236; his death, III. 12.  
 (2) Farthest ancestor of Cyrus, III. 75, VII. 11  
 Achaemenid, dynasty in Persia, I. 125, III. 65  
 Achaeus, a legendary eponymous hero, II. 98  
 Achelous, a river of N.W. Greece, VII. 126; compared with the  
 Nile, II. 10  
 Acheron, a river of N.W. Greece, VIII. 47; its glen supposed to  
 be a passage to the world of the dead, V. 92

## INDEX

- Achilleïum, a town in Asia Minor near the mouth of the Scamander, v. 94
- Achilles, "Race" of, a strip of land on the Pontic coast, iv. 55, 76
- Acraephia, a town near the Copaic lake in Boeotia, viii. 135
- Acragas (Agrigentum), vii. 165, 170
- Acrisius, father of Danaë, vi. 53
- Acrothoum, a town on the promontory of Athos, vii. 22
- Adeimantus, Corinthian admiral at Salamis, vii. 137, viii. 5, 59, 61, 94
- Adicran, a Libyan king, iv. 159
- Adrastus, (1) son of Gordias, a Phrygian refugee at Croesus' court, i. 35-45. (2) Son of Talaus, an Argive hero, v. 67 foll.
- Adriatic sea, i. 163, iv. 33, v. 9
- Adyrmachidae, a Libyan tribe, iv. 168
- Aea, in Colchis, i. 2, vii. 193, 197
- Aeaces, of Samos, (1) father of Polycrates, ii. 182, iii. 39, 139, vi. 13. (2) Son of Syloson, vi. 13; confirmed as despot of Samos by the Persians, vi. 22, 25
- Aeacus and Aeacidae, local heroes worshipped in Aegina, v. 80, v. 89, vi. 35, viii. 64, 83
- Aegae, in Argolis, i. 145
- Aegaeae, Aeolian town in Achaea, i. 149
- Aegean sea, ii. 97, 113, iv. 85, vii. 36, 55
- Aegaleos, the hill in Attica whence Xerxes saw the battle of Salamis, viii. 90
- Aege, a town in Pallene, vii. 123
- Aegeus, (1) son of Oeolycus, a Spartan, iv. 149. (2) Son of Pandion, king of Athens, i. 173
- Aegialeans, a "Pelasgian" people, vii. 94; of Sicyon, v. 68
- Aegialeus, son of Adrastus of Sicyon, v. 68
- Aegicores, a legendary Athenian, son of Ion, v. 66
- Aegidae, a Spartan clan, iv. 149
- Aegilea, a district of Euboea, vi. 101
- Aegina, island in the Saronic gulf, iii. 59, 131, vii. 147, viii. 41, 60; feuds with Athens, v. 84-89, vi. 88-92, vii. 144; Cleomenes in Aegina, vi. 50, 61; Aeginetan hostages, vi. 85; Fleet, viii. 46; Aeginetans in battle of Salamis, viii. 84, 91-93; offerings at Delphi, viii. 122; Aeginetans at Plataea, ix. 28, 78, 85
- Aegina, legendary daughter of Asopus, v. 80
- Aegira, in Argolis, i. 145

# INDEX

- Aegiroessa, Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
- Aegium, in Argolis, i. 145
- Aeglea, an island in the Aegean, vi. 107
- Aegli, a tribe in the Persian empire, near Bactria, iii. 92
- Aegospotami, on the Thracian coast near the Hellespont, ix. 119
- Aeimnestus, a Spartan, combatant at Plataea, ix. 54
- Aenea, a town on the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123
- Aenesidemus, an officer of Gelos in Sicily, vii. 154, 165
- Aenus, a town at the mouth of the Hebrus, iv. 90, vii. 58
- Aenyræ, a place in Thasos, vi. 47
- Aeolians, their conquest by Croesus, i. 6, 26; resistance to Cyrus, i. 141, 152; their settlements in Asia, i. 149-152; in the armies of Harpagus, i. 171; part of a Persian province, iii. 90; in Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 89, 138; reconquest by Persians, v. 122; in Ionian revolt, vi. 8, 28; part of Xerxes' fleet, vii. 95; Sestus an Aeolian town, ix. 115; Thessaly originally Aeolian, vii. 176; (often mentioned with Ionians, to denote Greek colonists in Asia.)
- Aeolidæ, a town in Phocis, viii. 35
- Aeolus, father of Athamas, vii. 197
- Aëropus, (1) a descendant of Temenus, viii. 137. (2) Son of Philippus, king of Macedonia, viii. 139
- Aesanius, a man of Thera, iv. 150
- Aeschines, a leading Eretrian, vi. 100
- Aeschraeus, an Athenian, viii. 11
- Aeschrionians, a Samian clan, iii. 26
- Aeschylus, the Athenian poet, reference to one of his plays, ii. 156
- Aesopus, the chronicler, ii. 134
- Aetolians, vi. 127, viii. 73 (Elis the only Aetolian part of the Peloponnese).
- Agæus, of Elis, vi. 127
- Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, i. 67, iv. 103, vii. 159
- Agariste, (1) daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 126, 130 foll. (2) Daughter of Hippocrates of Athens, vi. 131
- Agasicles, of Halicarnassus, i. 144
- Agathyrsi, a tribe on the Scythian borders, iv. 49, 100, 102, 119, 125; their customs, iv. 104
- Agathyrsus, son of Heracles, iv. 10
- Agbalus, an Aradian, vii. 98
- Agbatana, (1) Persian capital in Media, i. 110, 153, iii. 64, 92; plan of, i. 98. (2) In Syria, Cambyses' death there, iii. 64
- Agenor, father of Cadmus, iv. 147, vii. 91

## INDEX

- Agetus, a Spartan, vi. 61  
 Agis, king of Sparta, vi. 65  
 Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, her shrine at Athens, viii. 53  
 Aglomachus, his tower at Cyrene, iv. 164  
 Agora, a town in the Chersonese of Thrace, vii. 58  
 Agrianes, (1) a Paeonian tribe, v. 16. (2) A tributary of the Hebrus, iv. 90  
 Agron, king of Sardis, i. 7  
 Agyllaei, an Etruscan tribe, i. 167  
 Aias, son of Aeacus, a hero of the Trojan war, v. 66, vi. 35, viii. 64, 121  
 Alabanda, a town in Caria, vii. 195; another alleged to be in Phrygia, viii. 136.  
 Alalia, a town in Corsica inhabited by the Phocaeans, i. 165  
 Alarodii, a tribe in the Persian empire, E. of Armenia, iii. 94, vii. 79  
 Alazir, king of Barca, iv. 164  
 Alazones, a tribe in or adjacent to Scythia, iv. 17, 52  
 Alcaeus, (1) son of Heracles, i. 7. (2) The lyric poet, his poem on a battle between Athenians and Mytilenaeans, v. 95  
 Alcamenes, a Spartan king, son of Teleclus, vii. 204  
 Alcenor, an Argive, one of three survivors of a battle between Argos and Lacedaemon, i. 82  
 Alcetes, king of Macedonia, son of Aëropus, viii. 139  
 Alcibiades, an Athenian, father of Clinias, viii. 17  
 Alcides, a Spartan, vi. 61  
 Alcimachus, an Eretrian, vi. 101  
 Alcmena, mother of Heracles, ii. 43, 145  
 Alcmeon, an Athenian, i. 59; enriched by Croesus, vi. 125. His son and descendants, enemies of Pisistratus, i. 61, 64, v. 62; under a curse for killing Cylon, v. 70; suspected of collusion with Persians after Marathon, vi. 115, 121-124; Megacles, the successful suitor for the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 125, 131  
 Alcon, a Molossian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127  
 Alea, local name of Athene at Tegea, i. 66, ix. 70  
 Aleian plain in Cilicia, the rendezvous for Datis' army, vi. 95  
 Aleuadae, the ruling family in Thessaly, vii. 6, 130, 172, ix. 58  
 Alexander, (1) son of Priam (Paris), i. 3; in Egypt, ii. 113-120. (2) King of Macedonia, son of Amyntas; his treatment of Persian envoys, v. 19-21; claim to be a Greek, v. 22; advice to Greeks, vii. 173; his ancestors, viii. 137-139; an inter-

## INDEX

- mediary between Persia and Athens, viii. 140-144; information given by him to the Greeks before Plataea, ix. 44-46
- Alilat, an Arabian deity identified with Aphrodite, iii. 8
- Alopecae, a deme of Attica, v. 63
- Alpeni or Alpenus, a village behind the Greek position at Thermopylae, vii. 176, 216, 229
- Alpheus, a Spartan, distinguished at Thermopylae, vii. 227
- Alpis, a tributary of the Danube, flowing apparently from the eastern Alps, iv. 49
- Alus, in Achaea, vii. 173; tradition and ceremonial there, vii. 197
- Alyattes, king of Lydia, father of Croesus, his war with Miletus, i. 16-25; protection of Scythians against Media, i. 73; his tomb, i. 93
- Amasis, (1) king of Egypt, visited by Solon, i. 30; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; place in Egyptian chronology, ii. 43, 145; his Greek guard, ii. 154; his revolt against Apries, ii. 162, 169; his death, iii. 10; Cambyses' treatment of his body, iii. 16; friendship of Amasis and Polycrates, iii. 39-43. (2) A Maraphian, commander of Persian army against Barca, iv. 167, 201, 203
- Amathus, a town in Cyprus, its refusal to revolt against Persia, v. 104
- Amazons, their intermarriage with Scythians, iv. 110-117; story of Athenian victory over them, ix. 27
- Amestris, wife of Xerxes, vii. 61, 114; her revenge on a rival, ix. 109-112.
- Amiantus of Trapezus, an Arcadian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Amilcas, king of Carthage, defeated by Gelon, vii. 165-167
- Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, distinguished at Salamis, viii. 84-93
- Aminocles of Magnesia, enriched by Persian shipwreck at Sepias, vii. 190
- Ammon (or Amoun), an oracular deity in Libya, identified with Zeus, i. 46, ii. 32, 55
- Ammonians, a colony from Egypt and Ethiopia, ii. 42; on the route from Egypt to N.W. Africa, iv. 181; Cambyses' expedition against them, iii. 25, 26
- Amompharetus, Spartan commander of the "Pitanate battalion," his refusal to quit his post at Plataea, ix. 53-57
- Amorges, a Persian general, v. 121



## INDEX

- Ampe, a town on the Persian gulf, near the mouth of the Tigris, vi. 20
- Ampelus, a promontory in Chalcidice, vii. 122
- Amphiaraus, a legendary Greek hero, iii. 91; his oracular shrine, i. 46, 49, 52, 92, viii. 134
- Amphicaea, a Phocian town, viii. 33
- Amphicrates, king of Samos, iii. 59
- Amphictyones, council of a confederacy of states in N.E. Greece, ii. 180, v. 62, vii. 200, 213, 228. An eponymous hero Amphictyon, vii. 200
- Amphilochus, a legendary hero, son of Amphiaraus, iii. 91, vii. 91
- Amphilytus, an Acarnanian diviner, i. 62
- Amphimnestus of Epidamnus, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Amphissa, a town in Locris, a refuge for some Delphians when threatened by Xerxes, viii. 32, 36
- Amphion, a Corinthian of the Bacchiad clan, grandfather of the despot Cypselus, v. 92
- Amphitryon, alleged father of Heracles, ii. 43, 146, v. 59, vi. 53
- Ampraciots, in N.W. Greece, part of the Greek fleet, viii. 45; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28
- Amyntas, (1) king of Macedonia, father of Alexander, v. 94, vii. 173, viii. 136, 139, ix. 44; Persian envoys sent to him, v. 17-19. (2) A Persian, son of Bubares and grandson of Amyntas of Macedonia, viii. 136
- Amyrgii, a tribe of the Sacae, vii. 64
- Amyris, a man of Siris, vi. 127
- Amyrtaeus, one of the later kings of Egypt, ii. 140, iii. 15
- Amytheon, father of the seer Melampus, ii. 49
- Anacharsis, a Scythian phil-Hellene, iv. 46, 76
- Anacreon of Teos, the poet, iii. 121
- Anactorians, a people of N.W. Greece, ix. 28
- Anagyrus, a deme of Attica, viii. 93
- Anaphes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 62
- Anaphlystus, a deme of Attica, iv. 99
- Anaua, a town in Phrygia, vii. 30
- Anaxandrides, (1) a Spartan, son of Theopompus, ancestor of Leutychides, viii. 131. (2) King of Sparta, son of Leon; contemporary with Croesus, i. 67; father of Cleomenes, Dorieus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, v. 39, vii. 158, 204, viii. 71



## INDEX

- Anaxandrus, a king of Sparta, vii. 204
- Anaxilaus, (1) a Spartan, son of Archidemus, ancestor of Leuty-  
chides, viii. 131. (2) Despot of Rhegium, son of Creticus,  
vi. 23; an ally of the Carthaginians in Sicily, vii. 165
- Anchimolius, a Spartan general, v. 63
- Andreas of Sicyon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 126
- Androbulus, a Delphian, vii. 141
- Androcrates, a local hero worshipped at Plataea, ix. 25
- Androdamas, a Samian, viii. 85, ix. 90
- Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus and wife of Perseus, vii. 61,  
150
- Androphagi, a people adjacent to Scythia, iv. 18, 100, 102, 119,  
125; their customs, iv. 106
- Andros, in the Aegean, iv. 33, v. 31, viii. 108; besieged by  
Themistocles, viii. 111; Andrians in the Persian fleet, viii.  
66
- Aneristus, (1) a Spartan, father of Sperthias, vii. 137. (2) Grand-  
son of (1), Herodotus' theory that his death was caused by  
the wrath of Talthybius, vii. 137
- Angites, a tributary of the Strymon, vii. 113
- Angrus, a river in Illyria, iv. 49
- Annon, a Carthaginian, father of Amilcas, vii. 165.
- Anopaea, the mountain pass which turned the Greek position  
at Thermopylae, vii. 216
- Antagoras, a man of Cos, ix. 76
- Antandrus, a town in the Troad, v. 26, vii. 42
- Anthele, a village near the pass of Thermopylae, vii. 176
- Anthemus, a town in Macedonia, v. 94
- Anthylla, a town in the Delta, ii. 97
- Antichares, a man of Eleon, v. 43
- Anticyra, a town in Malis, on the Spercheus, vii. 198, 213
- Antidorus, a Lemnian deserter to the Greeks from the Persian  
fleet, viii. 11
- Antiochus, an Elean, ix. 33
- Antipatrus, a Thasian, chosen by his countrymen to provide for  
Xerxes' reception, vii. 118
- Antiphemus, of Lindus, founder of Gela in Sicily, vii. 153
- Anysis, (1) (and Anysian province of Egypt), inhabited by one  
of the warrior tribes, ii. 137, 166. (2) A blind king of Egypt,  
his expulsion by Ethiopians, ii. 137, 140
- Aparytae (possibly the modern Afridi), a tribe in the eastern  
part of the Persian empire, iii. 91

## INDEX

- Apaturia, an Athenian festival celebrated in the month Pyan-  
 epsion, I. 147  
 Aphetæ, in Magnesia, on the Pagasæan gulf, station of Xerxes'  
 fleet, VII. 193, 196; storm and shipwreck there, VIII. 12  
 Aphidnæ, a deme of Attica, IX. 73  
 Aphrodisias, an island off the coast of Libya, IV. 169  
 Aphrodite, worshipped in Cyprus and Cythera, I. 105; in Cyrene,  
 II. 181; in Egypt (Hathor), II. 41, 112; other local cults under  
 various names, I. 105, 131, 199, III. 8, IV. 59, 67  
 Aphthite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior  
 clans, II. 166  
 Apia, a Scythian goddess, IV. 59  
 Apidanus, a river of Thessaly, VII. 129, 196  
 Apis, (1) the sacred calf of Egypt, II. 38, 153; Cambyses' sacri-  
 legious treatment of Apis, III. 27-29. (2) An Egyptian town,  
 II. 18  
 Apollo, I. 87, VII. 26; cult at Delos and Delphi, I. 50, 91, IV.  
 163, 155, VI. 80, 118; other local cults, I. 52, 69, 92, 144, II.  
 83, 144, 155 (Horus), II. 159, 178, III. 52, IV. 59, 158, V. 59-61,  
 VIII. 33, 134  
 Apollonia, (1) a town on the Euxine sea, IV. 90, 93. (2) A town  
 on the Ionic gulf, IX. 90  
 Apollophanes, a man of Abydos, VI. 26  
 Apries, a king of Egypt, deposed by Amasis, II. 161-163; his  
 death, II. 169; marriage of his daughter to Cambyses, III. 1;  
 his expedition against Cyrene, IV. 159  
 Apsinthii, a tribe near the Chersonese (promontory of Gallipoli),  
 VI. 34, 36, IX. 119  
 Arabia, its customs, I. 131, 198, III. 8; invasion of Egypt by  
 Arabians and Assyrians, II. 141; geography, II. 8, 11, 15,  
 19, III. 7; home of the phoenix and flying serpents, II. 73,  
 75; natural history, III. 107-113; part of Persian empire,  
 III. 91, 97  
 Arabian gulf (Red Sea), II. 11, 102, 158, IV. 39, 42. Arabians  
 in Xerxes' forces, VII. 69, 86, 184  
 Aradians, of the island Aradus, off the Phœnician coast, VII. 98  
 Ararus, an alleged tributary of the Danube, IV. 48  
 Araxes, a river flowing from the west into the Caspian (but  
 apparently confused by Herodotus with other rivers), I. 202,  
 205, III. 36, IV. 11, 40; crossed by Cyrus when invading the  
 Massagetæ, I. 209-211  
 Arcadia, its relations with Sparta, I. 66; a Pelasgian people, I.

## INDEX

- 146; preservation of the cult of Demeter, II. 171; Cleomenes in Arcadia, VI. 74; Arcadian settlements in Cyprus, VII. 90; Arcadians at Thermopylae, VII. 202; Arcadian deserters to Xerxes, VIII. 26; Arcadians in the Greek army on the Isthmus, VIII. 72 (other unimportant reff.)
- Arcesilaus, name of three kings of Cyrene. (1) Son of Battus, IV. 159. (2) Son of another Battus, IV. 160. (3) Son of a third Battus, his treatment of political enemies, IV. 162-164; his death, IV. 164
- Archandrus, son-in-law of Danaus, an Egyptian town called after him, II. 98
- Archelai, a Sicyonian tribe so named by Cleisthenes of Sicyon, V. 68
- Archelaus, a king of Sparta, VII. 204
- Archestratides, a Samian, IX. 90
- Archias, (1) a Spartan, his exploit in the Lacedaemonian attack on Polycrates of Samos, III. 55. (2) Grandson of the above, honour paid him by the Samians, III. 55.
- Archidemus, (1) a Spartan, one of Leutyichides' ancestors, son of Anaxandrides, VIII. 131. (2) A king of Sparta, son of Zeuxidemus, VI. 71
- Archidice, a courtesan of Naucratis, II. 135
- Archilochus of Paros, inventor of the iambic metre, I. 12
- Ardericca, (1) a village in Assyria, I. 185. (2) A place near Susa, VI. 119.
- Ardys, king of Lydia, son of Gyges, I. 15
- Arei, a tribe of the Persian empire, their tribute, III. 93
- Areopagus at Athens, VIII. 52
- Ares, VII. 140, VIII. 77; local cults, in Egypt, II. 36, 59, 83; in Scythia, IV. 59-62; in Thrace, V. 7, VII. 76
- Argades, son of Ion, his name given to one of the four ancient Athenian tribes, V. 66
- Argaeus, a king of Macedonia, son of Perdiccas, VIII. 139
- Arganthonius, king of Tartessus (at the mouth of the Guadalquivir), his friendship with the Phocaeans, I. 163, 165
- Arge and Opis, two maidens fabled to have come from the Hyperboreans to Delos, IV. 35
- Argea, wife of Aristodemus, king of Sparta, VI. 52
- Argilus, a town west of the Strymon, VII. 115
- Argimpasa, a Scythian goddess identified with Aphrodite, IV. 59, 67
- Argiopium, a place near Plataea, IX. 57

## INDEX

- Argippaei, a primitive people adjacent to Scythia, said to be bald, iv. 23
- Argo, voyage of the ship to Libya, iv. 179; to Colchis, vii. 192
- Argos and Argives, Io carried off from Argos, i. 1, 5; war between Sparta and Argos, i. 82; Argive musicians, iii. 131; Cadmeans expelled from Boeotia by Argives, v. 57, 61; war with Sicyon, v. 67; Argive tribes, v. 68; alliance with Aegina against Athens, v. 86-89; war against Sparta, vi. 75-84; quarrel with Aegina, vi. 92; Argive neutrality in the Persian war, vii. 148-152; good offices to Mardonius, ix. 12; madness of Argive women, ix. 34
- Argus, a local hero, his temple violated by Cleomenes, vi. 75-82
- Ariabignes, a Persian general, son of Darius, vii. 97; killed at Salamis, viii. 89
- Ariantas, a king of Scythia, iv. 81
- Ariapithes, a king of Scythia, iv. 78
- Ariaramnes, (1) a Persian, viii. 90. (2) Son of Teïspes, an ancestor of Xerxes, vii. 11.
- Ariazus, a Persian, vii. 82
- Aridolis, despot of Alabanda in Caria, vii. 195
- Arii, a Median people, vii. 62
- Arimaspi, a fabled northern people, said to be one-eyed, iii. 116, iv. 13, 14, 27
- Arimnestus, a Plataean, ix. 72
- Ariomardus, (1) a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Artabanus, vii. 67. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, vii. 78
- Arion, a minstrel of Methymna, story of his rescue from death by a dolphin, i. 23, 24
- Ariphron, an Athenian, Pericles' grandfather, vi. 131, vii. 33, viii. 131
- Arisba, a town of Lesbos, i. 151
- Aristagoras, (1) despot of Cyzicus, iv. 138. (2) A Samian, ix. 90. (3) Despot of Cyme, iv. 138, v. 37. (4) A Milesian, organiser of the Ionic revolt against Darius, v. 30-38, vi. 1, 5, 9, 13, 18; his appeal to Sparta, v. 49-55; to Athens, v. 65, 97-100; his flight and death, v. 124-126.
- Aristeas, (1) a Corinthian, son of Adeimantus, vii. 137. (2) A Proconnesian poet, son of Caÿstrobios, his travels in the north, disappearance and subsequent reappearance after 340 years, iv. 13-16
- Aristides, an Athenian, ostracised by the people, his conference

## INDEX

- with Themistocles before Salamis, viii. 79-82; his part in the battle, viii. 95; at Plataea, ix. 28
- Aristocrates, an Aeginetan, vi. 73
- Aristocyprus, king of the Solii, a leader in the Cyprian revolt against Persia, v. 113
- Aristodemus, (1) sole survivor of the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae, vii. 229-231; his death at Plataea, ix. 71. (2) A king of Sparta, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131
- Aristodicus of Cyme, i. 158
- Aristogiton, one of the murderers of Hipparchus, v. 55, vi. 109  
123
- Aristolaïdas, an Athenian, i. 59
- Aristomachus, a king of Sparta, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131
- Ariston, (1) king of Sparta temp. Croesus, i. 67, v. 75, vi. 51, 61-69. (2) Despot of Byzantium, iv. 138
- Aristonice, Pythian priestess temp. Xerxes' invasion, vii. 140
- Aristonymus of Sicyon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 126
- Aristophantus, a Delphian, vi. 66
- Aristophilides, king of Taras (Tarentum), iii. 136
- Arizanti, one of the six Median tribes, i. 101
- Armenia, source of the Halys, i. 72; of the Euphrates, i. 180, 199; adjacent to Cilicia, v. 49, 52; part of the Persian empire, iii. 93; Armenians in Xerxes' army, vii. 73
- Arpoxais, one of the sons of Targitâus the legendary founder of the Scythian people, iv. 5
- Arsamenes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, vii. 68
- Arsames, (1) a Persian, father of Hystaspes, first mentioned, i. 209. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, vii. 69
- Artabanus, Xerxes' uncle, son of Hystaspes, dissuades Darius from the Scythian expedition, iv. 83; a conversation with Darius, iv. 143; advice to Xerxes against his expedition to Greece, vii. 10-12; his vision and change of mind, vii. 15-18; his dialogue with Xerxes at Abydos, vii. 46-52. Elsewhere as a patronymic.
- Artabates, a Persian, vii. 65
- Artabazus, a Persian general in Xerxes' army, vii. 66; his siege of towns in Chalcidice, viii. 126-129; disagreement with Mardonius before Plataea, ix. 41, 58; flight with his army from Plataea, ix. 66; return to Asia, ix. 89



## INDEX

- Artace, a town near Cyzicus, iv. 14, vi. 33
- Artachaees, the Persian engineer of Xerxes' canal through Athos, vii. 22; his death, vii. 117. Elsewhere a patronymic.
- Artaei, an old name for the Persians, vii. 61
- Artaeus, two Persians of the name, vii. 22 and vii. 66
- Artanes, (1) a brother of Darius, vii. 224. (2) A Thracian tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
- Artaphrenes, (1) Darius' brother, the Persian governor of Sardis, v. 25; his alliance with Aristagoras, and its rupture, v. 30-33; negotiation with Athenians, v. 73, 96; at Sardis when taken by Athenians and Ionians, v. 100; his operations in Ionia, v. 123; charge against Histiaeus, vi. 1; punishment of conspirators at Sardis, vi. 4; execution of Histiaeus, vi. 30; taxation of Ionia, vi. 42. (2) Son of the above, colleague of Datis in the invasion of Attica, vi. 94, 119, vii. 8, 10, 74
- Artayctes, a Persian general under Xerxes, and governor of Sestus, captured and crucified by the Greeks for his violation of a temple, vii. 33, 78, ix. 116-120
- Artaynte, daughter of Xerxes' brother Masistes, Xerxes' intrigue with her, ix. 108-112
- Artayntes, (1) a Persian general in Xerxes' army, son of Artachaees, vii. 130; his escape after Mycale, ix. 102, 107. (2) A Persian general in Xerxes' army, son of Ithamitres, vii. 67
- Artembares, (1) a Mede, his complaint to Astyages of Cyrus' treatment of Artembares' son, i. 114-116. (2) A Persian, ancestor of Artayctes, his proposal to Cyrus, ix. 122
- Artemis, her worship in the Greek world, i. 26, iii. 48, iv. 35, 87, vi. 138, vii. 176, viii. 77; in Thrace and Scythia, iv. 33, v. 7; in Egypt (as Bubastis), ii. 59, 83, 137, 155, 156
- Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, with Xerxes' fleet, vii. 99; her advice to Xerxes before Salamis, viii. 68; conduct in the battle, viii. 87; advice to Xerxes after Salamis, viii. 101-103
- Artemisium, in northern Euboea, described, vii. 176; station of the Greek fleet, vii. 182, 192, 194, viii. 4-6; battles with Xerxes' fleet, viii. 8-23; abandoned by the Greeks, viii. 40
- Artescus, a river in Thrace, crossed by Darius on his way to Scythia, iv. 92
- Artobazanes, eldest son of Darius, his candidature for the throne of Persia, vii. 2
- Artochmes, a Persian officer under Xerxes, vii. 73
- Artontes, (1) a Persian, iii. 128. (2) A Persian, son of Mardonius, ix. 84



## INDEX

- Artoxerxes, king of Persia, son of Xerxes, vii. 106; his friendly relations with Argos, vii. 151
- Artozostre, daughter of Darius and wife of Mardonius, vi. 43
- Artybius, a Persian general in Cyprus, v. 108-112
- Artyphius, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Artabanus, vii. 66
- Artystone, Cyrus' daughter, wife of Darius, iii. 88
- Aryandes, Persian satrap of Egypt under Darius, his silver coinage, iv. 166; his forces sent to reinstate Pheretime in Barca, iv. 167, 200
- Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia, married to Astyages the Mede, i. 74
- Asbystae, a tribe of Libya, iv. 170
- Ascalon, a town in Syria, i. 105
- Asia: beginning of troubles between Asia and Greece, i. 4. Croesus' conquest of Asiatic Greeks, i. 6; division of Upper and Lower Asia by the Halys, i. 72; Assyrian rule of Upper Asia, i. 95; Asia ruled by Medes, i. 102; by Scythians, i. 103-106, iv. 4, vii. 20; by Persians, i. 130; Ionians of Asia, i. 142; Median conquest of Lower, Persian of Upper Asia, i. 177; wealth of Assyria a third of entire wealth of Asia, i. 192; division of Asia and Libya, ii. 16, 17; Darius' Asiatic empire, iii. 88-94; extremities of Asia (*e.g.* Arabia), iii. 115; prosperity of Asia under Darius, iv. 1; mistake of those who think Europe no bigger than Asia, iv. 36; geography of the world, iv. 37-42; name of Asia, iv. 45; Asia and Libya compared, iv. 198; Aristagoras' map of Asia, v. 49; the "royal road" in Asia, v. 52; Asia "shaken for three years" by Darius' preparations against Greece, vii. 1; every nation of Asia in Xerxes' armament, vii. 21, 157; numbers of Asiatic contingents, vii. 184; Persian belief that all Asia is theirs, ix. 116 (many other unimportant *reff.*)
- Asia, wife of Prometheus, iv. 45
- Asias, (1) son of Cotys, a legendary Lydian, iv. 45. (2) A clan at Sardis, iv. 45
- Asine, a town in Laconia, viii. 73
- Asmach, name of a people in Ethiopia, ii. 30
- Asonides, captain of an Aeginetan ship captured by Xerxes' fleet near Sciathus, vii. 181
- Asopii, inhabitants of the Asopus valley, ix. 15
- Asopodorus, a Theban cavalry leader under Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 69

## INDEX

- Asopus, (1) a river in Trachis near Thermopylae, vii. 199, 216, 217. (2) A river in Boeotia, made the boundary between Theban and Plataean territory, vi. 108; frequently referred to in connection with the Plataean campaign of Mardonius, who encamped on its bank, ix. 15-59
- Aspathines, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70, 78
- Assa, a town in the Singitic gulf west of Athos, vii. 122
- Assesus, a town with a local cult of Athene, in the lands of Miletus, i. 19, 22
- Assyria: Assyrian rule of Upper Asia, i. 95; resistance to Medes, i. 102; Median conquest of all Assyria but Babylonia, i. 106; Cyrus' invasion, i. 178, 188; Herodotus' proposed Assyrian history, i. 183; some account of Assyria, i. 192-194; Sanacharibus' invasion of Egypt with Arabians and Assyrians, ii. 141; Assyrian script, iv. 87; Perseus an Assyrian, vi. 54; Assyrians in Xerxes' army, vii. 63
- Astacus, a legendary Theban, v. 67
- Aster, a Spartan, v. 63
- Astrabacus, a Spartan hero or demigod, vi. 69
- Astyages, a Median king, son of Cyaxares and son-in-law of Croesus, i. 73-75; his treatment of Cyrus as a child and as a youth, and his dealings with Harpagus, i. 107-125; deposed by Cyrus, i. 127-130
- Asychis, king of Egypt, builder of a brick pyramid, ii. 136
- Atarantes, a people in Libya, iv. 184
- Atarbechis, a town in Egypt with a temple of "Aphrodite," ii. 41
- Atarneus, a district of Mysia, i. 160, vi. 28, 29, viii. 106; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 42
- Athamas, a legendary Greek hero, vii. 58; ritual of human sacrifice connected with his family, vii. 197
- Athenades, of Trachis, vii. 213
- Athenagoras, of Samos, ix. 90
- Athene (and Pallas), Libyan tradition of, iv. 180; cult at Athens, i. 60, v. 77, 82, vii. 141, viii. 37, 39, 55; elsewhere, i. 19, 22, 62, 66, 92, 160, 175, ii. 28, 59, 83, 169, 175, 182, iii. 59, iv. 180, 188, v. 45, 95, vii. 43, viii. 94, 104, ix. 70
- Athens and Athenians, *passim* in Bks. v-ix; Solon's legislation at Athens, i. 29; Athenians the leading Ionian people, i. 56, 146; Pisistratus' usurpation of power, i. 59-64; Ionian appeal to Athens, v. 55, 97; murder of Hipparchus, v. 56; expulsion of Hippias with help from Sparta, v. 62 foll.; legis-

## INDEX

lation of Cleisthenes, v. 66 foll.; his expulsion attempted by Cleomenes of Sparta, v. 72, 73; Dorian invasion of Attica, v. 74-76; wars of Athens against Bocotia and Aegina, v. 77-89; decision of Peloponnesian congress not to restore Hippias, v. 93; Athens an open enemy of Persia, v. 96; Athenians support Ionian revolt, v. 97; Miltiades (the elder) at Athens, vi. 35; hostages for Aeginetan good faith sent to Athens, vi. 73; Athenian refusal to restore them (story of Glaucus), vi. 85 foll.; war between Athens and Aegina, vi. 87-93; Persian invasion of Attica and battle of Marathon, vi. 102-117; alleged treachery of the Alcmeonidae disproved, vi. 121-124; reception of Darius' envoys at Athens, vii. 133; Athens the saviour of Greece, vii. 139; oracles given to Athenians at Delphi, vii. 140-142; additions to Athenian fleet on Themistocles' advice, vii. 143, 144; Athenian envoy at Syracuse, vii. 161; Athenian ships at Artemisium, viii. 1, 10, 14, 17, 18; Athenian migration to Salamis, viii. 40, 41; origin of the name "Athenian," viii. 44; siege and capture of Athens, viii. 52, 53, 54; Athenians before the battle of Salamis, viii. 57 foll.; in the battle itself, viii. 83-96; their pursuit of Xerxes' fleet, 108 foll.; Athenian refusal to make terms with Persia, viii. 140-144; occupation of Athens by Mardonius, ix. 3; renewed refusal to make terms, ix. 4, 5; Athenian demands at Sparta for help, ix. 7-11; Mardonius' departure from Attica, ix. 13; Athenian exploits in the campaign of Plataea, ix. 21, 22; their claim of the place of honour in the army, ix. 26-28; movements of Athenians before the battle of Plataea, ix. 44-47, 54, 55, 56; their part in the battle, ix. 60, 61, 70, 73; Athenians in the battle of Mycale, ix. 102; their policy for Ionia, ix. 106; siege and capture of Sestus by Athenians, ix. 114-118. (See also Pisistratus, Cleisthenes, Miltiades, Themistocles)

Athos, promontory in Chalcidice, Persian shipwreck there, vi. 44, 95, vii. 189; Xerxes' canal across it, vii. 22, 37, 122

Athribite, province in Egypt, ii. 166

Athrys, a river in Thrace, iv. 49

Atlantes, a people in Libya, iv. 184

Atlantic sea, "outside the Pillars of Heracles," united with the Greek sea and the Persian gulf, i. 203

Atlas, (1) the mountain in Libya, iv. 184. (2) A river flowing from the Balkan range into the Danube, iv. 49

Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, wife first of Cambyses, then of the

## INDEX

- Magian, then of Darius, III. 68, 88; her desire that Darius should invade Greece, III. 133-134; her influence with Darius, VII. 2
- Atramyttium, a town on Xerxes' route through W. Asia Minor, VII. 42
- Atridae, Agamemnon and Menelaus, VII. 20
- Attaginus, a leading Theban friendly to Mardonius, IX. 15; Greek demand for his surrender, IX. 86; his escape, IX. 88
- Attica: Attic language, VI. 138; Attic weights and measures, I. 192; Attic dance movements, VI. 129. (See Athens.)
- Atys, (1) son of Croesus, accidentally killed by Adrastus, I. 34-45; father of Pythius, VII. 27. (2) Earliest mentioned king of Lydia, son of Manes, I. 7, VII. 74; a dearth in his reign, I. 94
- Auchatae, one of the earliest Scythian tribes, IV. 6
- Augila, a date-growing place in Libya, on the caravan route from Egypt to the west, IV. 172, 182-184
- Auras, a river flowing from the Balkan range into the Danube, IV. 49
- Auschisae, a Libyan people on the sea coast, near Barca, IV. 171
- Ausees, a Libyan people on the sea coast, IV. 180, 191
- Autesion, a Theban, descended from Polynices, IV. 147, VI. 52
- Autodicus, a Plataean, IX. 85
- Autonous, a hero worshipped at Delphi, his alleged aid against the Persians, VIII. 39
- Auxesia, a goddess of fertility worshipped in Aegina and Epidaurus, V. 82-83
- Axius (Vardar), a river in Macedonia, VII. 123
- Azanes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 66
- Aziris, a place in Libya, a Greek settlement there, IV. 157, 169
- Azotus, a town in Syria, II. 157
- Babylon, the capital of Assyria; alliance with Croesus, I. 77; description of the city, I. 178-183; Nitocris and navigation of the Euphrates, I. 184-186; her tomb, I. 187; Cyrus' siege and capture of Babylon, I. 188-191; details of Babylonian life, I. 93, 192-200, II. 109, III. 89, 95, IV. 198; tribute paid to Persia, III. 92; siege and capture by Darius, III. 150-160
- Bacchiadae, a powerful clan at Corinth, V. 92
- Bacchic mysteries, II. 81
- Bacis, reputed author or compiler of oracles, VIII. 20, 77, 96, IX. 43

# INDEX

- Bactra, in the eastern part of the Persian empire, still to be subdued by Cyrus, I. 153; tribute paid to Persia, III. 92; conquered peoples exiled thither, IV. 204, VI. 9; Bactrians in Xerxes' army, VII. 64, 66, 86; with Mardonius, VIII. 113; Masistes' plan for a Bactrian revolt, IX. 113
- Badres, (1) a Persian commander in the expedition against Cyrene, IV. 167, 203. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Hystanes, VII. 77
- Bagaeus, a Persian, employed by Darius against Oroetes, III. 128; father of Mardontes, VII. 80, VIII. 130
- Barca, a town of northern Libya, a colony from Cyrene, IV. 160; its tribute to Persia, III. 91; submission to Cambyses, III. 13; troubles with Cyrene, IV. 164, 167; captured and enslaved by Persians, 200-205
- Basileïdes, an Ionian, father of Herodotus the historian's namesake, VIII. 132
- Bassaces, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Artabanus, VII. 75
- Battiadae, descendants of Battus, IV. 202
- Battus; three of this name, all kings of Cyrene (see Arcesilaus). (1) A man of Thera, son of Polymnestus, and first colonist of Cyrene, IV. 150-159. (2) Grandson of the above, called "the fortunate"; his defeat of an Egyptian army, IV. 159. (3) Grandson of the last; curtailment of his royal power at Cyrene, IV. 161. ("Battus" said to be a Libyan word meaning "king," IV. 155.)
- Belbinite, an inhabitant of the islet of Belbina off Attica, used by Themistocles as an instance of an insignificant place, VIII. 125
- Belian gates of Babylon, opened to admit Darius' besieging army, III. 155, 158
- Belus, a legendary descendant of Heracles, I. 7, and perhaps, VII. 61, apparently = the Asiatic god Bel, who has affinities with Heracles; the Babylonian form of "Bel" (Baal); identified with Zeus, I. 181 (the temple of Zeus Belus).
- Bermius, a mountain range in Macedonia, VIII. 138
- Bessi, a priestly clan among the Satrae of Thrace, VII. 111
- Bias, (1) brother of the seer Melampus, IX. 34. (2) Bias of Priene, one of the "Seven Sages," his advice to Croesus, I. 27; to the Ionians, I. 170
- Bisaltæ, a Thracian tribe, VIII. 116; their country Bisaltia, VII. 115



## INDEX

- Bisaltes, a man of Abydos, vi. 26  
 Bisanthe, a town on the Hellespont, vii. 137  
 Bistones, a Thracian tribe, vii. 109, 110  
 Bithynians, in Xerxes' army, originally Thracians, vii. 75;  
     cp. i. 28  
 Biton, of Argos, brother of Cleobis, story of their filial devotion,  
     i. 31  
 Boebean lake, in Thessaly, vii. 129  
 Boeotia: Phœnician immigration, ii. 49, v. 57; war with  
     Athens, v. 74-81; alliance with Aegina, v. 89; "sacred  
     road" through Boeotia, vi. 34; strife of Athens and Boeotia,  
     vi. 108; submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; Boeotians at Thermo-  
     pylae, vii. 202, 233; nearly all Boeotia on Persian side, viii.  
     34, 66; Mardonius established in Boeotia, ix. 15, 17, 19;  
     Boeotians in his army, ix. 31, 46; their courage, ix. 67  
 Boges, Persian governor of Eion, his desperate defence of the  
     place, vii. 107  
 Bolbitine mouth of the Nile artificial, ii. 17  
 Boreas, the personified north wind, invoked by the Athenians  
     before the Persian shipwreck, vii. 189  
 Borysthenes, (1) a Scythian river, the Dnieper, iv. 5, 18, 24, 47,  
     53-56, 81, 101. (2) A Greek port at the river's mouth, iv.  
     17, 53, 74, 78; said to be a colony from Miletus, iv. 78  
 Bosphorus, (1) Thracian, bridged by Darius, iv. 83-89, 118, vii.  
     10. (2) Cimmerian (entrance to the Palus Maeotis), iv. 12,  
     28, 100  
 Bottiaea, a district on the Thracian sea-board, vii. 185, viii.  
     127  
 Branchidae, an oracular shrine near Miletus, i. 46, ii. 159;  
     Croesus' offerings there, i. 92, v. 36; answer of the oracle  
     about the surrender of a suppliant, i. 157-159  
 Brauron, in Attica, Athenian women carried off thence by  
     Pelasgians, iv. 145, vi. 138  
 Brentesium (mod. Brindisi), iv. 99  
 Briantic country, on the Thracian sea-board, vii. 108  
 Briges, old name of the Phrygians, vii. 73  
 Brongus, a tributary of the Danube, iv. 49  
 Brygi, Thracian tribesmen, their attack on Mardonius' first  
     expedition, vi. 45; part of Xerxes' army, vii. 185  
 Bubares, a Persian, son of Megabazus, married to the sister of  
     Alexander of Macedonia, v. 21, viii. 136; one of the engineers  
     of the Athos canal, vii. 22



## INDEX

- Bubastis, (1) an Egyptian goddess identified with Artemis, II. 59, 83, 137, 156. (2) An Egyptian town, II. 59, 67, 137, 154, 158, 166. (Bubastite province, II. 166)
- Bucolic mouth of the Nile artificial, II. 17
- Budii, a Median tribe, I. 101
- Budini, a people adjacent to Scythia, IV. 21, 102, 105, 119, 122, 136; their town of wood, and their Greek customs, IV. 108
- Bulis, a Spartan, his offer to expiate the Spartan killing of Persian envoys by surrendering himself to Xerxes, VII. 134-137
- Bura, a town in Argolis, I. 145
- Busae, a Median tribe, I. 101
- Busiris, a town in the Delta with a temple of Isis, II. 59, 61; Busirite province, II. 165
- Butacides, a man of Croton, V. 47
- Buto, a town in the Delta, with a cult of Apollo and Artemis, and an oracular shrine of Leto (Uat), II. 59, 63, 67, 75, 83, 111, 133, 152, III. 64; description of the temple, II. 155
- Bybassia, a peninsula in Caria, I. 174
- Byzantium, IV. 87, VI. 33; beauty of its site, IV. 144; taken by Otanes, V. 26; annexed by Ionian rebels, V. 103; occupied by Histiaeus, VI. 5, 26; Artabazus there in return to Asia, IX. 89
- Cabales, a small tribe in northern Libya, near Barca, IV. 171
- Cabalees, a people on the Lycian border, their tribute to Persia, III. 90; in Xerxes' army, VII. 77
- Cabiri, minor deities worshipped in many places, in Samothrace and Memphis, II. 51, III. 37
- Cadmeans, alleged Phoenician immigrants into Greece with Cadmus, I. 56, 146, V. 57; a Cadmean script, V. 59; once settled at Thebes, IX. 27; a "Cadmean victory" one where victors are no better off than vanquished, I. 166
- Cadmus, (1) a Tyrian, son of Agenor, in Boeotia, II. 49; chronology, II. 145 (cp. Cadmeans). (2) A Coan, son of Scythes; an emissary from Gelon of Sicily, VII. 163
- Cadytis, a town in Syria (Gaza), III. 5; taken by Necos, II. 159
- Caicus, a river between Lydia and Mysia, VI. 28, VII. 42
- Caeneus, a Corinthian, father of Eëtion, V. 92
- Calamisa (or Calama), in Samos, IX. 96
- Calasiries, one of the Egyptian warrior tribes, II. 164; some account of them, II. 166, 168; in Mardonius' army at Plataea, IX. 32

## INDEX

- Callantiae, an Indian people, III. 97; perhaps the same as the Callatae, *q.v.*
- Callatebus, a town in Lydia on Xerxes' line of march, VII. 31
- Callatae, Indian cannibals, III. 38
- Calchas, the legendary seer, VII. 51
- Calchedon (or Chalcedon), on the Hellespont, IV. 85; its site compared with that of Byzantium, IV. 144; taken by Otanes, V. 26; burnt by Phoenicians, VI. 33
- Calliades, archon at Athens in 480 B.C., VIII. 51
- Callias, (1) an Elean seer, acting with Croton in its war with Sybaris, V. 44. (2) An Athenian, son of Hipponicus; an envoy to Xerxes' son Artoxerxes in 448 B.C., VII. 151. (3) Grandfather of the above, a noted Athenian champion of freedom and enemy of Pisistratus, VI. 121
- Callicrates, a Spartan killed (but not in actual fighting) at Plataea, IX. 72
- Callimachus of Aphidnae, the Athenian polemarch, with the army at Marathon, his vote for battle, VI. 109, 110; his death, VI. 114
- Calliphon, a man of Croton, III. 125
- Callipidae, "Greek Scythians" near the town of Borysthenes, IV. 17
- Callipolitae, settlers in Sicily from the adjacent town of Naxos VII. 154
- Calliste, old name of the island of Thera, IV. 147
- Calydnians, islanders in Xerxes' fleet, VII. 99
- Calynda, on the frontier of Lycia, I. 172; Calyndians in Xerxes' fleet, VIII. 87
- Camarina, in Sicily, VII. 154; its citizens transferred to Syracuse by Gelon, VII. 156
- Cambyses, (1) a Persian, son of Teïspes, son-in-law of Astyages and father of Cyrus, I. 107; elsewhere mostly a patronymic of Cyrus. (2) King of Persia, son of Cyrus, his accession, I. 208, II. 1; conquest of Egypt, I. 1-4, 9-16; expeditions to Ethiopia and Libya, 19-26; his sacrilegious and criminal acts while in Egypt, especially the murder of his brother, III. 27-38; Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, and Cambyses' death, III. 61-66; Greeks in Egypt during Cambyses' occupation, III. 139; Cambyses' punishment of an unjust judge, V. 25 (other unimportant *reff.*)
- Camicius, a town in Sicily, scene of Minos' death, VII. 169
- Camirus, a Dorian town in Rhodes, I. 144

## INDEX

- Campsä, a town adjacent to the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123
- Canastreaan promontory at the extremity of Pallene, vii. 123
- Candaules, (1) called Myrsilus by the Greeks, despot of Sardis, i. 7; murdered by his wife and Gyges, i. 10-13. (2) A Carian, vii. 98
- Canobus, a town in Egypt, giving its name to the adjacent mouth of the Nile, ii. 15, 17, 97, 113, 179
- Caphereus, a promontory in Euboea, viii. 7
- Cappadocia, its situation, i. 72, v. 49, 52; attacked and conquered by Cyrus, i. 71, 73, 76; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 26; Cappadocians in his army, vii. 72
- Carchedon (Carthage); Carchedonian and Italian attack on Phocaeans in Corsica, i. 166; Cambyses' proposed conquest of Carchedon, iii. 17-19; Carchedonian story of the island Cyrauis, iv. 195; expulsion of a Greek colony in Libya by Carchedonians, v. 42; successes of Gelon against them in Sicily, vii. 158, 165-167
- Carcinitis, at the mouth of the Hypacyris, on the eastern frontier of "old" Scythia, iv. 55, 99
- Cardamyle, a town in Laconia, viii. 73
- Cardia, a town in the Thracian Chersonese (peninsula of Gallipoli), vi. 33, 36, ix. 115; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 58
- Carene, a town in Mysia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 42
- Carenus, a Spartan, vii. 173
- Carians, islanders originally, the chief people in the Minoan empire, i. 171; their inventions of armour, *ib.*; attacked by the Persians, *ib.*; subdued, i. 174; Carian settlers in Egypt, ii. 61, 152, 154; Apries' Carian guard, ii. 163, iii. 11; Carian tribute to Persia, iii. 90; a Carian warrior in the Cyprian revolt, v. 111; Carian revolt against Darius, v. 117-121; subdued, vi. 25; Carians in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 93, 97, viii. 22; Carian language not understood by Greeks, viii. 135; so-called "Ionian" dress really Carian, v. 88
- Carnea, a Lacedaemonian festival in honour of Apollo, held in early August, vii. 206, viii. 72
- Carpathus, an island S.W. of the Peloponnese, iii. 45
- Carpis, a western tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
- Carystus, on the south coast of Euboea, iv. 33; subdued by Persians, vi. 99; in Xerxes' army, viii. 66; attacked by Greeks, viii. 112, 121; war between Athens and Carystus, ix. 105
- Casambus, one of the Aeginetan hostages handed over to Athens by Cleomenes, vi. 73

## INDEX

- Casian mountain, low sandhills on the eastern frontier of Egypt,  
 II. 6, III. 5
- Casmena, a town in Sicily, VII. 155
- Caspatyrus, a town probably on the Indus, III. 102, IV. 44
- Caspian Sea, its size, I. 203; northern boundary of the Persian  
 empire, IV. 40; Caspian tribute paid to Persia, III. 92; Caspii  
 in Xerxes' army, VII. 67, 86
- Cassandane, mother of Cambyses, II. 1, III. 2
- Cassiterides (tin-producing) islands, perhaps Britain, their exist-  
 ence questioned by Herodotus, III. 115
- Castalian spring at Delphi, VIII. 39
- Casthanaea, a town in Magnesia, VII. 183, 188
- Catadupa, the first or Assuan cataract of the Nile, source of the  
 river, according to Herodotus, II. 17
- Catarrhactes, a tributary of the Maeander, rising at Celaenae,  
 VII. 26
- Catiari, one of the oldest Scythian tribes, IV. 6
- Caucasa, on the S.E. coast of Chios, V. 33
- Caucasus range, I. 104, 203, III. 97, IV. 12
- Caucones, an Arcadian people, one of the most ancient of Greek  
 races, I. 147, IV. 148
- Caunus, near Caria and Lycia, origin of its people, I. 172; attacked  
 and subdued by the Medes, I. 171, 176; participation in Ionian  
 revolt against Darius, V. 103
- Caÿstrius, a river near Sardis, V. 100
- Caÿstrobis, a Proconnesian, father of Aristaeas, IV. 13
- Ceans, natives of Ceos in the Aegean, IV. 35; in the Greek fleet,  
 VIII. 1, 46
- Cecrops, king of Athens, VII. 141, VIII. 53; Athenians called  
 Cecropidae, VIII. 44
- Celaenae, a town in Phrygia at the junction of the Marsyas and  
 Maeander, on Xerxes' route, VII. 26
- Celeas, a Spartan companion of Dorieus' voyage to Italy, V.  
 46
- Celti, the farthest west (but one) of all European nations, beyond  
 the Pillars of Heracles, II. 33; source of the Danube in their  
 country, IV. 49
- Ceos, apparently a place in Salamis (but not identified), VIII. 76;  
 clearly not the island in the Aegean.
- Cephalenia, an island west of Greece, its contingent at Plataea,  
 IX. 28
- Cephenes, an old name for the Persians, VII. 61

## INDEX

- Cepheus, son of Belus (*q.v.*) and father of Andromeda, wife of Perseus, vii. 61, 150
- Cephisus, a river in Phocis, vii. 178, viii. 33
- Ceramicus, a gulf in Caria, i. 174
- Cercasorus, a town in Egypt, where the Nile first divides to form the Delta, ii. 15, 17, 97
- Cercores, legendary dwarfs whose name is preserved by the "seats of the Cercores," rocks on the mountain side near Thermopylae, vii. 216
- Cercyra (Corcyra), subject to Corinth under Periander, iii. 48, 52, 53; hesitating policy of Corcyra when invited to join the Greeks against Xerxes, vii. 168
- Chaldaeans, a priestly caste at Babylon, i. 181, 182
- Chalcis, in Euboea, at war with Athens, v. 74, 77, 91; station of the Greek fleet, vii. 182, 189; Chalcidians in the fleet, viii. 1, 46; at Plataea, ix. 28, 31
- Chalcidians of Thrace, in Xerxes' army, vii. 185; their capture of Olynthus, viii. 127
- Chalestra, a town on Xerxes' route in Macedonia, vii. 123
- Chalybes, a people of Asia Minor conquered by Croesus, i. 28 (if the mention is genuine).
- Charadra, a town in Phocis, viii. 33
- Charaxus, a Mytilenaeon, brother of Sappho, ii. 135
- Charilaus, (1) brother of Polycrates' viceroy of Samos, Maeandrius, his attack on the Persians in Samos, iii. 145, 146. (2) A king of Sparta, viii. 131
- Charites, the Graces, worshipped in Greece but not in Egypt, ii. 50; a hill in Libya called "the Graces' hill," iv. 175
- Charopinus, brother of Aristagoras of Miletus, v. 99
- Chemmis, (1) a town of Upper Egypt, with a temple of Perseus, ii. 91. (2) An island alleged to float, in the Delta, ii. 156. Province of Chemmis, ii. 165, inhabited by one of the warrior clans.
- Cheops, king of Egypt, the first pyramid-builder (at the modern Gizeh), ii. 124-127
- Chephren, Cheops' successor, also a pyramid-builder, ii. 127
- Cherasmis, a Persian, father of Artayctes, vii. 78
- Chersis, a king of Cyprus, father of Onesilus, v. 104, 113
- Chersonese (= peninsula), used (1) (oftenest) of the modern peninsula of Gallipoli; ruled by Miltiades the elder, iv. 137; overrun by Persians, vi. 33; under Miltiades, the elder and the younger, vi. 33-40, 103, 104; part of the Athenian empire,



## INDEX

- vi. 140; Xerxes' bridge there, vii. 33; his route through the Chersonese, vii. 58; Greek forces there after Mycale, ix. 114-120. (2) The Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), iv. 99
- Chileus, a Tegean, his warning to the Spartans, ix. 9
- Chilon, (1) a Spartan, temp. Pisistratus, i. 59; his saying about Cythera, vii. 235. (2) A Spartan, son of Demarmenus and father-in-law of Demaratus, vi. 65
- Chios, its alliance with Miletus, i. 18; Ionian, i. 142, ii. 178; its surrender of a suppliant, i. 160; a Chian altar at Delphi, ii. 135; Paeonian refugees in Chios, v. 98; Chians and Histiaeus, vi. 2, 5; their valour in the Ionian revolt, vi. 15, 16; conquered by the Persians, vi. 31; plot against the despot of Chios, viii. 132; Chians admitted to the Greek confederacy after Mycale, ix. 106 (a few other unimportant reff.)
- Choaspes, a river flowing past Susa, i. 188, v. 49, 52
- Choereae, a place on the coast of Euboea near Eretria, vi. 101
- Choereatae, the name given by Cleisthenes to a Sicyonian tribe, v. 68
- Choerus, a man of Rhegium, vii. 170
- Chon (if the reading is admitted), a river in N.W. Greece, ix. 93
- Chorasmii, a tribe N.E. of the Parthians, on the Oxus, iii. 93, 117; in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
- Chromius, an Argive, one of three survivors of a battle between Argos and Lacedaemon, i. 82
- Cicones, a Thracian tribe, on Xerxes' route, vii. 59, 108, 110
- Cilicia, traversed by the Halys, i. 72; opposite Egypt, ii. 34; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; on the "royal road," v. 52; Persian crossing from Cilicia to Cyprus, v. 108; sailing thence of Datis' expedition, vi. 95; Cilicians in Xerxes' army, vii. 77, 91, 98, viii. 14; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 68; by Mardonius, viii. 100; governed by Xenagoras, ix. 107
- Cilix, son of Agenor, eponymous hero of Cilicia, vii. 91
- Cilla, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
- Cimmerians, their invasion of Ionia, i. 6, 15; originally in Scythia, driven thence by the Scythians into Asia, iv. 11-13, vii. 20; their memory preserved by place-names, iv. 12
- Cimon, (1) son of Stesagoras and father of Miltiades the younger, vi. 34, 38; a victor at Olympia, vi. 103; killed by the Pisistratids, *ib.* (2) Son of Miltiades, vi. 136; his capture of Eion, vii. 107
- Cindya, a town in Caria, v. 118



## INDEX

- Cineas, a Thessalian prince, ally of the Pisistratids against Sparta, v. 63
- Cinyps, a river in Libya, iv. 175; attempt to make a Greek settlement there, v. 42; fertility of the Cinyps valley, iv. 198
- Cissians, at the head of the Persian Gulf, tributaries of Persia, iii. 91; Cissian gates of Babylon, iii. 155, 158; the country on Aristagoras' map of Asia, v. 49; on the "royal road," v. 52; Cissian fighters at Thermopylae, vii. 210
- Cithaeron, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia, vii. 141; northern foothills of Cithaeron and passes over the range held by the Greeks against Mardonius, ix. 19, 25, 38, 51, 56, 69
- Cius, (1) a town in Mysia, v. 122. (2) (Or Scius?), a tributary of the Ister, iv. 49
- Clazomenae, in Lydia, an Ionian town, i. 142, ii. 178; its resistance to Alyattes, i. 16; Clazomenian treasury at Delphi, i. 51; taking of the town by Persians, v. 123
- Cleades, a Plataean, ix. 85
- Cleandrus, (1) despot of Gela in Sicily, vii. 154. (2) An Arcadian seer and fomenter of civil strife in Argolis, vi. 83
- Cleinias, an Athenian, son of Alcibiades, his distinction at Artemesium, viii. 17
- Cleisthenes, (1) despot of Sicyon, son of Aristonymus, his reforms at Sicyon, v. 67, 69; competition for his daughter's hand, vi. 126-31. (2) An Athenian, grandson of the above, vi. 131; his reforms at Athens, v. 66, 69; his expulsion from Athens and return, v. 72, 73
- Cleobis, an Argive, story of his filial devotion, i. 31
- Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, an ancestor of the Spartan kings, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131
- Cleombrotus, youngest son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, v. 32, vii. 205; in command of a Peloponnesian force at the Isthmus, viii. 71, ix. 10; father of Pausanias, ix. 78 *et al.*
- Cleomenes, king of Sparta, son of Anaxandrides; his refusal to accept a bribe, iii. 148 (from Maeandrius of Samos), v. 48-51 (from Aristagoras); his madness, v. 42, vi. 75; invasions of Attica, v. 64, 70; oracles carried off by him from Athens, v. 90; quarrel with Aegina, vi. 50; feud with Demaratus, vi. 61-66; invasion of Argos, vi. 76-82, vii. 148; advice to the Plataeans, vi. 108; his death, vi. 75
- Cleonae, a town on Athos, vii. 22
- Clytiadae, an Elean priestly clan, ix. 33 (but see note *ad loc.*).

## INDEX

- Cnidus, in Caria, on the Triopian promontory, I. 174; a Dorian town, I. 144, II. 178; attempted restoration by Cnidians of a Tarentine exile, III. 138
- Cnoethus, an Aeginetan, VI. 88
- Cnosus, in Crete, the capital city of Minos' empire, III. 122
- Cobon, a Delphian, his corruption of the oracle in Cleomenes' interest, VI. 66
- Codrus, an ancient king of Athens, ancestor of the Caucones (*q.v.*), I. 147; of Pisistratus, V. 65; Dorian invasion of Attica during his rule, V. 76; father of the founder of Miletus, IX. 97
- Coenryra, a place in Thasos, VI. 47
- Coes, of Mytilene, his advice to Darius to leave Ionians guarding the bridge of the Ister, IV. 97; made despot of Mytilene, V. 11; his death, V. 38
- Colaeus, a Samian shipmaster, IV. 152
- Colaxais, the youngest of the three brothers who founded the Scythian race, IV. 5, 7
- Colchis, on the Euxine, its situation, I. 104, IV. 37, 40; Egyptian origin of Colchians, II. 104; tribute to Persia, III. 97; in Xerxes' army, VII. 79
- Colias, adjective of an Attic promontory where wrecks were driven ashore after Salamis, VIII. 96
- Colophon, an Ionian town in Lydia, I. 142; taken by Gyges, I. 14; Apaturia not celebrated at Colophon, I. 147; civil strife there, I. 150
- Colossae, a town in Phrygia, on Xerxes' route, VII. 30
- Combrea, a town in Chalcidice, VII. 123
- Compsantus, a river in Thrace, VII. 109
- Coniaean, of Conium in Phrygia, V. 63 (but "Gonnaean" should probably be read).
- Contadesdus, a river in Thrace, IV. 90
- Copaïs lake in Boeotia, VIII. 135
- Coresus, near Ephesus, on the coast, V. 100
- Corinth, its treasury at Delphi, I. 14, IV. 162; despotism of Periander and his cruelty, I. 23, V. 92; his troubles with his son, and with Coreyra, III. 48-54; Corinthian estimation of artificers, II. 167; story of Cypselus, V. 92; Corinthian reluctance to invade Attica, V. 75; friendship with Athens, VI. 89; adjustment by Corinth of a quarrel between Athens and Thebes, VI. 108; Corinthians at Thermopylae, VII. 202; in the Greek fleet, VIII. 1, 21, 43; in the army at the Isthmus, VIII. 72; dispute between Themistocles and Adeimantus,

## INDEX

- viii. 61; Corinthians' alleged desertion of the Greeks at Salamis, viii. 94; Corinthians at Plataea, ix. 28, 31, 69; at Mycale, ix. 102, 105
- Corobius, a Cretan merchant, employed by Greeks to guide them to Libya, iv. 151-153
- Coronea, a town in Boeotia, v. 79
- Corycian cave on Parnassus, a refuge for the Delphians, viii. 36
- Corydallus, a man of Anticyra, vii. 214
- Corys, a river in Arabia, iii. 9
- Cos, an island off Caria, colonized by Dorians, i. 144; abdication of its despot Cadmus, vii. 164; Coans in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 99
- Cotys, a legendary Lydian, iv. 45
- Cranai, old name for Athenians, viii. 44
- Cranaspes, a Persian, iii. 126
- Crannon, in Thessaly, vi. 128
- Crathis, (1) a river in Achaea, i. 145. (2) A river by Sybaris, v. 45
- Cremni (cliffs), name of a port in Scythia, on the "Maetian lake," iv. 20, 110
- Crestonian country, in Thrace, v. 3, 5, vii. 124, 127, viii. 116. The reading *Creston* in i. 57 is doubtful; *Croton* is suggested (not the town in Magna Graecia, but Cortona in Umbria).
- Crete, Cretan origin of Lycurgus' Spartan laws, i. 65; beginning of Minos' rule, i. 173; Samian settlers in Crete, iii. 59; connexion of Crete with the settlement of Cyrene, iv. 151, 154, 161; Cretan reason for not joining the Greeks against Xerxes, vii. 169-171; Lycians originally Cretan, vii. 92
- Cretines, (1) a man of Magnesia in Greece, vii. 190. (2) A man of Rhegium, vii. 165
- Crinippus, a man of Himera, vii. 165
- Crisean plain, in Locris, viii. 32
- Critalla, a town on Xerxes' route in Cappadocia, vii. 26
- Critobulus, (1) a man of Cyrene, ii. 181. (2) A man of Torone, made governor of Olynthus by the Persians, viii. 127
- Crius, a leading Aeginetan, sent to Athens as hostage for Aeginetan good faith, vi. 50, 73; his meeting with Themistocles at Salamis, viii. 92
- Crobyzi, a Thracian tribe, iv. 49
- "Crocodiles' town," near Lake Moeris in Egypt; labyrinth there, ii. 148
- Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, extent of his rule, i. 6, 26-28; Solons' visit to him, i. 28-33; story of his son Atys,

## INDEX

- i. 34-45; gifts to Delphi and preparations for war with Persia, i. 46-56, viii. 35; negotiations with Athens and Sparta, i. 65, 69; story of the campaign, and Cyrus' capture of Sardis, i. 76-84; Croesus' escape from death, and his treatment by Cyrus, i. 85-92; advice to Cyrus as to government of Lydia, i. 155, 156; as to the Massagetae, i. 207; Croesus at Cambyses' court, iii. 14, 36; friendship with the elder Miltiades, vi. 37; gift of gold to Alcmeon, vi. 125 (other unimportant reff.)
- Crophii, one of two hills (Mophi the other) alleged to be near the source of the Nile, ii. 28
- Crossaeon country, in Macedonia, vii. 123
- Croton, in Magna Graecia; reputation of its physicians, iii. 131; story of Democedes at the Persian court and his return to Croton, iii. 131-138; war between Croton and Sybaris, v. 44; capture of Sybaris by Crotoniats, vi. 21; help sent by Croton (but by no other western colony) to Greeks against Xerxes, viii. 47
- Cuphagoras, an Athenian, vi. 117
- Curium, in Cyprus, its desertion to the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, v. 113
- Cyanean (Dark) islands, in the Euxine near the Bosphorus, iv. 85, 89
- Cyaxares, king of Media, i. 16; Scythian offences against him, i. 73; his victories over Scythians and Assyrians and capture of Ninus, i. 103, 106
- Cybebe, a Phrygian goddess, her temple at Sardis burnt, v. 102
- Cyberniscus, a Lycian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 98
- Cyclades islands, none of them part of Darius' empire before the second Ionian revolt, v. 30; Aristagoras' promise to win them for him, v. 31
- Cydidippe, daughter of Terillus of Himera, vii. 165
- Cydonia, a town in Crete founded by Samians, iii. 44, 59
- Cydrara, a town on the frontier of Lydia and Phrygia, vii. 30
- Cyllirii, a slave class at Syracuse, vii. 155
- Cylon, an Athenian murdered by the Alcmeonidae for aiming at despotic power, v. 71
- Cyme, in Mysia, an Aeolian town, i. 149; its consultation of an oracle as to surrender of a refugee, i. 57; Cyme taken by the Persians, v. 123; station of Xerxes' fleet after Salamis, viii. 130
- Cynegirus, an Athenian killed at Marathon, brother of Aeschylus, vi. 114

## INDEX

- Cynesii, the most westerly people of Europe, II. 33 (called Cynetes, IV. 49)
- Cyneus, an Eretrian, VI. 101
- Cyniscus, alternative name for Zeuxidemus, son of Leutychides, king of Sparta, VI. 71
- Cyno, Cyrus' Median foster-mother, I. 110, 122
- Cynosarges, a place in Attica with a shrine of Heracles, V. 63, VI. 116
- Cynosura, a promontory of Salamis, VIII. 76
- Cynurii, a Peloponnesian people alleged to be aboriginal, VIII. 73
- Cyprus; worship of Aphrodite, I. 105, 199; "Linus" song there, II. 79; Cyprus subdued by Amasis, II. 182; under Persians, III. 19, 91; Cyprian revolt and its suppression, V. 104-115, VI. 6; Cyprians in Xerxes' fleet, VII. 90, 98; disparaged by Artemisia, VIII. 68, by Mardonius, VIII. 100. "Cyprian poems," II. 117
- Cypselus, (1) despot of Corinth, son of Eëtion, I. 14, 20; his career, V. 92 (elsewhere a patronymic of Periander). (2) An Athenian, father of the elder Miltiades, VI. 35
- Cyrauis, an island off Libya in the Mediterranean (perhaps the modern Cercina), IV. 195
- Cyrene; "lotus" grown there, II. 96; Cyrenaeans' visit to the oracle of Ammon, II. 32; Egyptian attack on Cyrene, II. 161, IV. 159; alliance with Amasis, II. 181; tribute to Persia, III. 90; early history of Cyrene and its kings, IV. 159-165; fertility of Cyrenaean country, IV. 199
- Cyrmianae, a Thracian tribe, IV. 93
- Cyrnus, (1) a legendary hero, son of Heracles, I. 167. (2) The modern Corsica; colonized by Phocaeans, I. 165, 167; attack on Gelon of Sicily, VII. 165. (3) A place near Carystus in Euboea, IX. 105
- Cyrus, (1) king of Persia; his campaign against Lydia, capture of Sardis, and clemency to Croesus, I. 75-92; story of Cyrus, his attempted murder by Astyages, adventures of his childhood and youth, and return to Astyages, I. 107-122; revolt of Persians under Cyrus against Medes, I. 123-130; Cyrus king of all Asia, I. 130; beginning of Ionian revolt against him, I. 141; conquest of Assyria and capture of Babylon, I. 188-191; Cyrus' campaign against the Massagetae and death in battle, I. 201-214; comparison of Cyrus with his son Cambyses, III. 34; Croesus charged by Cyrus to advise Cambyses, III. 36; different treatment of Babylon by Cyrus and Darius, III. 159; Cyrus' advice to the Persians not to



## INDEX

- live in a fertile country, ix. 122 (many other reff., mostly where the name is used as a patronymic). (2) Paternal grandfather of the above, i. 111
- Cytissorus, a Colchian, custom respecting his descendants at Alus in Achaea, vii. 197
- Dadicae, a people in the N.E. of the Persian empire; their tribute, iii. 91; in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
- Daedalus, sought by Minos, vii. 170
- Daï, a nomad Persian tribe, i. 125
- Damasithymus, (1) king of the Calyndians, in Xerxes' fleet at Salamis, viii. 87. (2) A Carian officer in Xerxes' fleet, son of Candaules, vii. 98
- Damasus of Siris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Damia, a deity worshipped in Aegina and Epidaurus, v. 82, 83
- Danaë, mother of Perseus, daughter of Acrisius, ii. 91, vi. 53, vii. 61, 150
- Danaus, his legendary migration to Greece from Chemmis in Egypt, ii. 91, vii. 94; his daughters, ii. 171, 182
- Daphnae, near Pelusium, on the Egyptian frontier, ii. 30, 107
- Daphnis, despot of Abydos, iv. 138
- Dardaneans, an Assyrian people, apparently, i. 189
- Dardanus, a town on the Hellespont, v. 117, vii. 43
- Darius, (1) king of Persia, son of Hystaspes; suspected by Cyrus, i. 209; story of his part in the conspiracy against the Magians, and his accession to the throne, iii. 73-87; canal made by him in Egypt, ii. 158, iv. 39; inquiry into varieties of custom, iii. 38; tribute paid by his empire, iii. 89-97; called "the huxter," iii. 89; severity of his rule, iii. 118, 119; punishment of Oroetes, iii. 127, 128; Democedes at Darius' court, iii. 129-132; plans against Greece, iii. 134, 135; conquest of Samos, iii. 139-149; reduction of Babylon, iii. 150-160; Scythian expedition planned, iv. 1; Darius' passage of the Bosphorus, march to the Ister, and invasion of Scythia, iv. 83-98; Scythian campaign and return to Asia, iv. 118-143; Cyrenaeen expedition, iv. 200-204; transportation of Paeonians to Asia, v. 12-15; Histiaeus summoned by Darius to Susa, v. 24; Darius' anger against Athens for the burning of Sardis, and his dispatch of Histiaeus to Ionia, v. 105-107; reception of Scythes, vi. 24; estimation of Histiaeus, vi. 30; demand of earth and water from Greek states, vi. 48, 49; Demaratus at Darius' court, vi. 70; reasons for



## INDEX

- attack on Greece, vi. 94; meaning of the name Darius, vi. 98; Darius' clemency to the Eretrians, vi. 119; his preparations for a Greek campaign, vii. 1; appointment of a successor, vii. 2, 3; his death, vii. 4; Darius' treatment of an unjust judge, vii. 194. Gold coins called "Daric," vii. 28; (other reff. of little importance). (2) Xerxes' son, ix. 108  
 Daritae, a tribe in the Persian empire, iii. 92  
 Dascyleum, in Mysia, on the Propontis, the seat of a Persian governor, iii. 120, 126, vi. 33  
 Dascylus, a Lydian, father of Gyges, i. 8  
 Datis, a Mede, in command with Artaphrenes of the expedition of 490 against Athens, vi. 94, 97, 118; his sons in Xerxes' army, vii. 88  
 Datum, in Paeonia, battle there between Athenians and Edonians, ix. 75  
 Daulians, in Phocis, viii. 35  
 Daurises, a general employed by Darius against the insurgent Ionians, v. 116-118, 121  
 Decelea, a deme of Attica, ix. 15; its privileges at Sparta, ix. 73  
 Decelus, eponymous hero of Decelea, ix. 73  
 Deïoces, first king of Media, his rise to power, building of a palace at Agbatana, and conquest of Persia, i. 96-99, 101-103  
 Deïphonus, a seer, from Apollonia in N.W. Greece, ix. 92, 95  
 Delium, in Boeotia, vi. 118  
 Delos, its purification by Pisistratus, i. 64; lake in Delos, ii. 170; visit of the Hyperborean virgins, iv. 33-35; sanctity of Delos respected by Persians, vi. 97, 118; station of Greek fleet before Mycale, viii. 133, ix. 90, 96  
 Delphi, its oracles, i. 13, 19, 47, 55, 65-67, 85, 167, 174, ii. 134, iii. 57, iv. 15, 150, 155, 161, v. 67, 82, 89, 92, vi. 19, 34, 52, 77, 86, 135, 139, vii. 140, 148, 178, 220, viii. 114, ix. 33, 93; its treasures, i. 14, 25, 50-55, 92, viii. 27, 35, 82, 121, ix. 81; repulse of the Persian attack on Delphi, viii. 36-39; corruption of the oracle, vi. 66  
 Delta of Egypt, ii. 13, 15-18, 41, 59, 97, 179  
 Demaratus, king of Sparta, his feud with Cleomenes, v. 75, vi. 51; story of his birth and loss of his kingship, vi. 61-66; his flight to Persia, vi. 67-70; support of Xerxes' accession, vii. 3; warnings to Xerxes as to Greek resistance, vii. 101-104, 209; advice to Xerxes on his strategy, viii. 234-237; information to Greeks of Xerxes' planned campaign, vii. 239

## INDEX

- Demarmenus, a Spartan, v. 41, vi. 65
- Demeter, worshipped at Eleusis in Attica, vi. 75, viii. 65; other places of her cult, ii. 171, iv. 53, v. 61, vi. 91, 134, vii. 200, ix. 57, 63, 65, 69, 101; identified with the Egyptian Isis, ii. 122, 156
- Democedes, of Croton, a physician, brought to Darius from Samos, iii. 125, 131; his reputation, iii. 132; devices for return to Croton, iii. 134-137
- Democritus, of Naxos; his transference of Naxian ships from Persian to Greek fleet, viii. 46
- Demonax, of Mantinea, his settlement of troubles at Cyrene, iv. 161
- Demonous, of Paphos, vii. 195
- Demophilus, commanding Thespian force at Thermopylae, vii. 222
- Dersaei, a Thracian tribe on Xerxes' route, vii. 110
- Derusiaei, a tribe in Persia, i. 125
- Deucalion, legendary king of the Hellenes in Phthiotis, i. 56
- Diactorides, (1) a man of Crannon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127. (2) A Spartan, father-in-law of Leutychides, vi. 71
- Diadromes, a Thespian, vii. 222
- Dicaea, a Greek town on Xerxes' route in Thrace, vii. 109
- Dicaeus, an Athenian; his vision in Attica before Salamis, viii. 65
- Dictyna, a Cretan goddess, iii. 59 (if the text is genuine).
- Didyma, a Milesian temple, apparently identical with Branchidae, vi. 19
- Dieneces, a Spartan, his saying about Persian arrows at Thermopylae, vii. 226
- Dindymene, a name for the goddess Cybele; her sacred hill in Lydia, i. 80
- Dinomenes, father of Gelon of Sicily, vii. 145
- Diomedes, a Greek hero of the Trojan war, ii. 116
- Dionysius, a Phocaeen, his attempt to train the Ionian fleet, vi. 11, 12, 17
- Dionysophanes, an Ephesian, said to have buried Mardonius' body, ix. 84
- Dionysus, iii. 111; his cult in Greece, ii. 49, 52, 145; in particular localities and under various names, i. 150, ii. 29, iii. 8, 97, iv. 79, 87, 108, v. 7, 67, vii. 111; identified with the Egyptian Osiris, ii. 42, 47, 123, 144, 156

## INDEX

- DioscURI, their worship unknown in Egypt, II. 43, 50; entertained by Euphorion, an Arcadian, VI. 127
- DIPAEA, in Arcadia, scene of a battle about 470 B.C. between Spartans and Arcadians, IX. 35
- Dium, a town on Athos, VII. 22
- DOBERES, a Paeonian tribe, V. 16 (if the reading be right), VII. 113
- DODONA, an oracle in N.W. Greece, consulted, I. 46, II. 52, IX. 93; story suggesting a connexion between Egypt and Dodona, II. 53-57; Hyperborean offerings at Dodona, IV. 33
- DOLONCI, a Thracian tribe, VI. 34, 40
- DOLOPES, a Thessalian people, in Xerxes' army, VII. 132, 185
- DORIANS, I. 57; Dorians of Epidaurus, I. 146; Dorian alphabet, I. 139; four Dorian invasions of Attica, V. 76; their women's dress, V. 87; names of tribes, V. 68; Dorian leaders of Egyptian origin, VI. 53; Dorians in Peloponnese, VIII. 73; Doris in N. Greece, IX. 31, 66; Asiatic Dorians, I. 6, 144, 178, VII. 93, 99
- DORISCUS, on the Thracian coast, V. 98; an important halting place on Xerxes' route, VII. 25, 59, 108, 121; its defence by its Persian governor, VII. 106
- DORUS, son of Hellen, eponymous ancestor of Dorians, I. 56
- DORYSSUS, a king of Sparta, VII. 204
- DOTUS, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 72
- DROPICI, a Persian tribe, I. 125
- DRYMUS, a town in Phocis, VIII. 33
- DRYOPES, an ancient race in N. Greece, I. 146, VIII. 43, 46; their settlements in the Peloponnese, VIII. 73
- DRYOSCEPHALAE, name of a pass in the Cithaeron range, IX. 39
- DYMANATAE, a Dorian tribe at Sicyon, V. 68
- DYME, a town in Achaëa, I. 145
- DYRAS, a stream west of Thermopylae, VII. 198
- DYSORUM, a mountain range on the N.E. frontier of Macedonia, V. 17
- ECHECRATES, a Corinthian, father of Eëtion, V. 92
- EHEMUS, king of Tegea, his victory over Hyllus, IX. 26
- EHESTRATUS, a king of Sparta, VII. 204
- ECHIDORUS, a river in Thrace, VII. 124, 127
- ECHINADES ISLANDS, off the mouth of the Achelous, II. 10
- EDONI, a Thracian tribe, on the Strymon, V. 124, VII. 110, 114, IX. 75

## INDEX

- Eëropus, a king of Tegea, ix. 26
- Eëtion, a Corinthian, father of Cypselus, v. 92
- Egesta, a town in Sicily, allied with Phoenicians against Greeks, v. 46, vii. 158
- Egis, a Spartan king, vii. 204
- Egypt, its extent, ii. 5-19; course of the Nile, ii. 19-34; Egyptian custom and religion, i. 140, 182, 193, 198, ii. 4, 35-98, iv. 168, 180, 186; kings of Egypt, ii. 99-182; eschatology, ii. 123; chronology, ii. 142-146; the pyramids, ii. 124-128; Egyptian origin of Dorian heroes, vi. 53-55; Solon in Egypt, i. 30; Scythian invasion, i. 105; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; Cambyzes' invasion, iii. 1-16; his sacrilege, iii. 27, 28; Egypt a Persian province, iii. 91; Athenian campaign in Egypt, iii. 160; Darius' canal from the Nile, iv. 39; circumnavigation of Africa from Egypt, iv. 42, 43; Egypt and Cyrene, iv. 159; revolt of Egypt against Persia, vii. 1, 7; Egyptian bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 34; Egyptian marines in Persian fleet, vii. 89, viii. 68, 100, ix. 32; their exploits at Artemisium, viii. 17
- Eïon, a town on the Strymon, vii. 25; its defence, and capture by the Greeks, vii. 107, 113; Xerxes said to have embarked there for Asia, viii. 118
- Elaeus, a town in the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 140, vii. 22; profanation of its shrine of Protesilaus, vii. 33, ix. 116, 120
- Elatea, a town in Phocis, viii. 33
- Elbo, an island in the Delta, the refuge of the deposed king Anysis, ii. 140
- Eleon, a town in Boeotia, v. 43
- Elephantine, on the Nile opposite Assuan, ii. 9; the southern limit of Egypt, ii. 17; close to the source of the Nile, ii. 28; a Persian frontier guard there, ii. 30; stone-quarries of Elephantine, ii. 175; tribe of "Fish-eaters" there, iii. 19
- Eleusis, in Attica, scene of a battle, i. 30; the first objective of Cleomenes' invasion, v. 74, vi. 75; mysteries of Demeter-worship there and the vision of Dicaeus, viii. 65; Greek forces there before Plataea, ix. 19; burning of the temple of Demeter by Persians, ix. 65
- Elis; Elean management of Olympic games, ii. 160; no mules in Elis, iv. 30; destruction of neighbouring towns, iv. 148; Elis the only Aetolian part of Peloponnese, viii. 73; Eleans in the Greek force on the Isthmus, viii. 72; too late at Plataea, ix. 77

## INDEX

- Elisyci, probably Ligurians; Gelon of Sicily attacked by them and others, vii. 165
- Ellopiian district of Euboea, viii. 23
- Elorus, a river in Sicily, Syracusans defeated on it by Corinthians, vii. 154
- Enarees, Scythians suffering from the so-called "female disease," i. 105, iv. 67
- Enchelees, an Illyrian tribe, claiming descent from Cadmus, v. 61; their incursion into Greece, ix. 43
- Eneti, a people at the head of the Adriatic, i. 196, v. 9
- Enienes, a people living at the headwaters of the Spercheus, vii. 132, 185, 198
- Enipeus, a river in Thessaly, vii. 129
- Enneacrunus, "Nine Springs" fountain outside Athens, vi. 137
- Ennea Hodoi, "Nine Ways," a town on the Strymon, vii. 114
- Eordi, a people living between the Strymon and the Axios, vii. 185
- Epaphus, Greek name for the Egyptian Apis, *q.v.*
- Ephesus, in Lydia, of Ionian origin, i. 142; Croesus' offerings in the temple of Artemis there, i. 92; one of the most remarkable temples known to Herodotus, i. 148; Ephesus besieged by Croesus, i. 126; Ionians defeated there by Persians, v. 102; terminus of "royal road," v. 54; Xerxes' sons sent there after Salamis, viii. 103
- Epialtes of Malis, his guidance of the Persians over the pass at Thermopylae, vii. 213-218
- Epicyles, a Spartan, father of Glaucus, vi. 86
- Epidanus, see Apidanus.
- Epidaurus, in Argolis; Dorian, i. 146; taken by Periander, iii. 52; quarrel with Athens, v. 82; its colonies, vii. 99; Epidaurians in the Greek forces against Xerxes and Mardonius, viii. 1, 43, 72, ix. 28, 31
- Epigoni, a poem attributed by some to Homer, reference therein to Hyperboreans, iv. 32
- Epistrophus, a man of Epidamnus, vi. 127
- Epium, a town in the western Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
- Epizelus, an Athenian combatant at Marathon, vi. 117
- Epizephyrian Locrians, Locrian colonists in Sicily, vi. 23
- Erasinus, a river in Argolis alleged to be partly subterranean, vi. 76



## INDEX

- Erechtheus, a legendary Attic hero; sacrifice offered to him by Epidaurians in return for Attic olive trees, v. 82; father of Orithyia, vii. 189; name of Athenians first used in his time, viii. 44; his shrine on the Acropolis, viii. 55
- Eretria, in Euboea, Pisistratus in exile there, i. 61; native place of Gephyraei, v. 57; objective of Mardonius' campaign under Darius, vi. 43; of Datis, vi. 94, 98; subdued by Persians, vi. 100-102; Eretrian captives in Persia, vi. 119; contingent in Greek fleet, viii. 1, 46; at Plataea, ix. 28, 31
- Eridanus, a river in Europe, its existence doubted by Herodotus, iii. 115
- Erineus, a place in Doris, viii. 43
- Erinyes, avenging deities (of Laius and Oedipus), iv. 149
- Erochus, a town in Phocis, burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
- Erxandrus, a Mytilenaeon, iv. 97, v. 37
- Erythea, an island alleged to be outside the Pillars of Heracles, iv. 8
- Erythrae, (1) a town in Boeotia, near Plataea, ix. 15, 19, 22. (2) An Ionian town in Asia Minor, i. 18, 142, vi. 8
- Erythre bolos, "Red Earth," a town in Egypt, ii. 111
- Erythre thalassa, the Persian Gulf and the nearer part of the Indian Ocean; Phoenicians coming from it, i. 1, vii. 89; mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris in the Red Sea, i. 180, 189; united with the Mediterranean, i. 203; Arabian mountains in the direction of the Red Sea, ii. 8; our "Red Sea" ('Αράβιος κόλπος) an offshoot from it, ii. 11; identical with the "Southern Sea," ii. 158; captives settled by Persians in islands of the Red Sea, iii. 93, vii. 80; Persia extends to its shores, iv. 37; Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa starting from the Red Sea, iv. 42; Ampe on the Red Sea, vi. 20
- Eryx, in western Sicily, v. 43, 45
- Eryxo, wife of the second Arcesilaus of Cyrene, iv. 160
- Etearchus, (1) king of the Ammonians; visit of Cyrenaeans to him, ii. 32. (2) King of Oaxus in Crete, iv. 154
- Eteocles, son of Oedipus, v. 61
- Ethiopians, of Meroë, ii. 29; Ethiopian kings of Egypt, ii. 100, 137-140; circumcision in Ethiopia, ii. 104; Cambyses' mission to the "long-lived" Ethiopians, iii. 17-26, 97; Ethiopia in relation to Egypt, ii. 11, 28, 30, 110, 139, 146, 161; "Trog-lodyte" Ethiopians, iv. 183; "Ethiopians" of Asia, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 70; Ethiopians in Cyprus, vii. 90



## INDEX

- Evaenetus, commander of a Lacedaemonian force in Thessaly before Thermopylae, vii. 173
- Evagoras, a Spartan, winner of three chariot-races at Olympia, vi. 103
- Evalcides, an Eretrian leader killed in the second Ionian revolt, v. 102
- Euboea, desirable object for Persian attack, v. 31; Chalcidians in Euboea defeated by Athenians, v. 77; Persians under Datis there, vi. 100; Athenian ships off Euboea, vii. 189; naval operations in Euboean waters, viii. 4-20; Euboic coinage, iii. 89, 95; Euboians in Sicily, their treatment by Gelon, vii. 156
- Euclides, son of Hippocrates, despot of Gela, vii. 155
- Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, iv. 162 v. 104
- Evenius, a man of Apollonia, ix. 92
- Euhesperides, a Libyan town near Barca, iv. 171, 204; fertility of its land, iv. 198
- Eumenes, an Athenian, distinguished in the battle of Salamis, viii. 93
- Eunomus, a king of Sparta, viii. 131
- Eupalinus, a Megarian, builder of the Samian aqueduct, iii. 60
- Euphemides, the family designation of the first Battus of Cyrene, iv. 150. (Al. Euthymides.)
- Euphorbus, an Eretrian, his betrayal of Eretria to Datis, vi. 101
- Euphorion, (1) an Athenian, father of Aeschylus and Cynegirus, ii. 156, vi. 114. (2) An Azanian, vi. 127
- Euphrates, its source in Armenia, i. 180; course altered by Nitocris, queen of Babylon, i. 185; made fordable by Cyrus, i. 191; passage of the river on the "royal road," v. 52
- Euripus, channel between Boeotia and Euboea, part played by it in naval operations before Salamis, vii. 173, 182, viii. 7, 15, 66
- Europe, tripartite division of the world, Europe, Asia, Libya, ii. 16, iv. 36; speculations on the sun's passage over Europe, ii. 26; Europe bisected by the Ister, ii. 33, iv. 49; general ignorance of the farthest regions of Europe, iii. 115, iv. 45; absurdity of supposing the three continents equal in size, iv. 36; Cynetos on the western limit of Europe, iv. 49; Europe and Asia both more fertile than Libya, iv. 198; desirability of Europe to Persians, vii. 5; Xerxes' aim of subduing all Europe, vii. 50; region of Europe infested by lions, vii. 126; European part of Xerxes' army, vii. 185; Megara the western

## INDEX

- limit of Persian advance in Europe, ix. 14 (many other unimportant reff.)
- Europa, daughter of Agenor of Tyre; carried off by Cretans, i. 2; her sons Minos and Sarpedon, i. 173; alleged origin of the name of the continent, iv. 45; search made for her by Cadmus, iv. 147
- Europus, a town perhaps in Caria, viii. 133
- Euryanax, a Spartan, joint commander with Pausanias at Plataea, ix. 10, 53, 55
- Eurybates, an Argive commander killed in battle with the Athenians, vi. 92, ix. 75
- Eurybiades, Spartan admiral of the fleet at Artemisium and Salamis, viii. 2, 42, 49; part played by him in the councils of war before Salamis, viii. 57-64; decision not to pursue Xerxes, viii. 108; prize for chief merit awarded him by Greeks, viii. 124
- Eurycledes, a Spartan, father of Eurybiades, viii. 2
- Eurycrates, a king of Sparta, vii. 204
- Eurycratides, a king of Sparta, vii. 204
- Eurydame, second wife of Leutychides, king of Sparta, vi. 71
- Eurydemus, a Malian, vii. 213
- Euryleon, a Spartan colonist in Sicily, v. 46
- Eurymachus, (1) a Theban, vii. 205. (2) Grandson of the above, killed in a Theban attack on Plataea, vii. 233
- Eurypon, a king of Sparta, viii. 131
- Eurypylus, an Aleucid, of Larissa in Thessaly, ix. 58
- Eurysthenes, king of Sparta, founder of the senior of the two royal families, iv. 147, v. 39, vi. 51, vii. 204
- Eurystheus, legendary king of Mycenae, ix. 26
- Eurytus, a Spartan, his determination to fight at Thermopylae, vii. 229
- Euthoenus, an Athenian, ix. 105
- Eutychides, an Athenian, ix. 73
- Euxine Sea, i. 6; part of Media nearest to it, i. 110; Sinope on the Euxine, ii. 34; provinces of the Persian empire on its coast, iii. 93; character of inhabitants of its northern shores, iv. 46; its length and breadth, iv. 85, 86; islands in it, iv. 89; Tauric peninsula, iv. 99; relation of Euxine to Xerxes' bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 36; corn-ships from the Euxine, vii. 147
- Exampaeus, a stream and district in Scythia between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis, iv. 52, 81

## INDEX

- Gadira, a town "outside the Pillars of Heracles," identified with Cadiz, iv. 8
- Gaeson, a stream near Mycale in Asia Minor, ix. 97
- Galepsus, a town on the promontory of Sithonia, in Chalcidice, vii. 122
- Gallaïe country (or Briantic), in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 108
- Gandarii, an Indian tribe in the Persian Empire, their tribute, iii. 91; in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
- Garamantes, a Libyan tribe on the route from Egypt to the Atlas, iv. 174, 183
- Gargaphian spring, on the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 25, 49, 51
- Gauanes, one of three brothers, ancestors of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, their adventures, viii. 137
- Ge (Earth), worshipped in Scythia as Apia, iv. 59
- Gebeleïzis, a Thracian deity, otherwise called Zalmoxis, iv. 94
- Gela, in Sicily, a Rhodian colony, vii. 153; Hippocrates its despot, vi. 23, vii. 154; usurpation of Gelon, vii. 155
- Geleon, eponymous hero of one of the four ancient Athenian tribes, v. 66
- Gelon, despot of Syracuse, his rise to power, vii. 154-156; reply to Greek request for help against Persia, vii. 145, 157-163; victory over Carthaginians and nations of the western Mediterranean (said to be contemporary with the battle of Salamis), vii. 165, 166
- Geloni, neighbours of the Scythians, said to be of Greek origin, iv. 108; their part in the campaign against Darius, iv. 102, 119, 136
- Gelonus, (1) son of Heracles, by Scythian legend, iv. 10. (2) The chief town of the Budini (neighbours of the Geloni), built of wood, iv. 108
- Gephyraei, the clan to which Hipparchus' murderers belonged, their alleged Phoenician origin, v. 55, 57, 61
- Geraestus, a town at the southern extremity of Euboea, viii. 7, ix. 105
- Gergis, a Persian general in Xerxes' army, vii. 82
- Gergithes, a people of Mysia, near the Hellespont, descendants of the Teuceri, v. 122, vii. 43
- Germanii, a Persian tribe, i. 125
- Gerrhus, a river and country in Scythia, iv. 19, 47, 53, 56; burial of Scythian kings among the Gerrhi, iv. 71
- Geryones, his oxen driven off by Heracles, iv. 8

## INDEX

- Getae, a Thracian tribe said to believe in immortality, iv. 93, 118, v. 3
- Gigonus, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123
- Giligamae, a Libyan tribe inland of Cyrene, iv. 169
- Gillus, a Tarentine refugee in Persia, iii. 138
- Gindanes, a Libyan tribe, iv. 176
- Glaucon, an Athenian, ix. 75
- Glaucus, (1) son of Hippolochus, ancestor of a Lycian dynasty, i. 47. (2) Son of Epicycles, a Spartan; story of his attempted fraud told by Leutychides at Athens, vi. 86. (3) A Chian worker in metals, i. 25
- Glisas, a town in Boeotia near Tanagra, ix. 43
- Gnurus, a Scythian, father of Anacharsis, iv. 76
- Gobryas, (1) son of Darius, an officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 72. (2) One of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70-79; his advice to Darius in Scythia, iv. 132, 134; father of Mardonius, vi. 43; his daughter married to Darius, vii. 2 (elsewhere as a patronymic).
- Goetosyrus, a Scythian deity identified with Apollo, iv. 59
- Gonnus, a town in Thessaly, vii. 128, 173
- Gordias, (1) father of Midas, viii. 138. (2) King of Phrygia, son of Midas; father of Adrastus, i. 35, 45
- Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, v. 48; her advice to Cleomenes, v. 51; her interpretation of a message, vii. 239
- Gorgon's head, brought from Libya by Perseus, ii. 91
- Gorgus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, v. 104, 115, viii. 11; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98
- Grinnus, king of Thera, his consultation of the Delphic oracle about a colony in Libya, iv. 150
- Grynea, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
- Gygaea, daughter of Amyntas of Macedonia, married to Bubares, a Persian, v. 21, viii. 136
- Gygaean lake, in Lydia, i. 93
- Gyges, (1) king of Lydia; his accession after murdering Candaules, i. 8-13; his gifts to Delphi, i. 14. (2) A Lydian, iii. 122, v. 121
- Gyndes, a river in Assyria diverted by Cyrus from its course, i. 189, 202
- Gyzantes, a tribe in the western part of Libya, iv. 194
- Haemus, a mountain range in Thrace (the Balkans), rivers flowing from it into the Danube, iv. 49

## INDEX

- Haliacmon**, a Macedonian river (mod. Vistritza), vii. 127
- Halia**, a town in Argolis, vii. 137
- Halicarnassus**, in Caria, Herodotus' birthplace, i. 144, 175, ii. 178, vii. 99
- Halys**, a river in Asia Minor, the eastern boundary of Croesus' empire, i. 6, 28, 72, 103, 120; crossed by Croesus, i. 75; its passage a part of the "royal road," v. 52; crossed by Xerxes, vii. 26
- Harmamithres**, a Median officer in Xerxes' army, son of Datis, vii. 88
- Harmatides**, a Thespian, vii. 227
- Harmocydes**, commander of Phocians in Mardonius' army at Plataea, ix. 17
- Harmodius**, an Athenian, one of the murderers of Hipparchus, v. 55, vi. 109, 123
- Harpagus**, (1) a Mede, in Cyrus' expedition against Croesus, i. 80; charged by Astyages to make away with Cyrus, i. 108-113; Astyages' punishment of Harpagus, i. 117-120; Harpagus' services in placing Cyrus on the throne, i. 123, 127, 129; in subduing the Ionians, i. 164-177. (2) A Persian officer under Darius, vi. 28, 30
- Hebe**, the name used as a watchword or battle-cry, ix. 98
- Hebrus**, a river in Thrace, iv. 90; Doriscus on it, vii. 59
- Hecataeus** of Miletus, the historian, his chronology, ii. 143; his advice to Ionian rebels, v. 36, 125; his story of Athenian dealings with Pelasgians, vi. 137
- Hector**, son of Priam, probability of his surrendering Helen had she been in Troy, ii. 120
- Hegesandrus**, of Miletus, father of Hecataeus, v. 125
- Hegesicles**, a king of Sparta, colleague of Leon, i. 65
- Hegesilaus**, (1) king of Sparta, son of Doryssus, vii. 204. (2) A Spartan, ancestor of Leutychides, king of Sparta, viii. 131; son of Hippocratides.
- Hegesipyle**, daughter of Olorus of Thrace, wife of Miltiades the younger, vi. 39
- Hegesistratus**, (1) an Elean seer in Mardonius' army; story of his escape from death, ix. 37. (2) An emissary from Samos to the Greeks before Mycale, ix. 90. (3) Despot of Sigeum, bastard son of Pisistratus, v. 94
- Hegetorides**, of Cos; his daughter rescued after being carried off by Persians, ix. 76
- Hegias**, an Elean, brother of the seer Tisamenus, ix. 33



## INDEX

- Helen, her abduction from Sparta, I. 3; account of her voyage to Egypt, II. 112-120; brought to Attica by Theseus, IX. 73; her temple at Therapne in Laconia, VI. 61
- Helice, an Achaean town on the Gulf of Corinth, I. 145
- Heliconius, the title of Poseidon at his temple in the Panionium near Mycale, I. 148
- Heliopolis, in Egypt, sources of Egyptian history there, II. 3; distances of various places from Heliopolis, II. 7-9; ceremonial there, II. 59, 63
- Hellas and Hellenes, *passim* in all Books. The following are among the principal *reffi.* to what is distinctively Greek: language, I. 110, II. 30, 56, 59, 112, 137, 154, III. 26, IV. 52, 110, 155, 192, VI. 98, VIII. 135; dress, IV. 78, V. 88; horses, VII. 196; armour, II. 41, IV. 180, VII. 91, 93; religious gatherings, II. 58
- Helle, daughter of Athamas, her tomb in the Thracian Chersonese, VII. 58
- Hellen, an eponymous Greek hero, father of Dorus, I. 56
- Hellespont, its length and breadth, IV. 85; despots of places by it with Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 137; Darius' passage of it in his return, V. 11; Hellespontian towns subdued by Ionian rebels, V. 103; reconquered by Darius, V. 107, VI. 33; Hellespont scourged by Xerxes for the destruction of his bridge, VII. 35; bridged again, VII. 36; Xerxes' passage, VII. 55; Hellespontians in his fleet, VII. 95; Persian governors of towns there, VII. 106; Greek decision not to sail to the Hellespont after Salamis, VIII. 108; bridges there found broken, IX. 114 (many other unimportant *reffi.*)
- Hephaestiae, a town in Lemnos, VI. 140
- Hephaestopolis, a Samian, II. 134
- Hephaestus, his cult in Greece (the torch-race), VIII. 98; temple of "Hephaestus" (Ptah) at Memphis, II. 3, 99, 101 and elsewhere in Bk. II.
- Helots, the serf class in Laconia, VI. 58, 75, 80, VII. 229, VIII. 25, IX. 80, 85; a part of the Spartan army, IX. 10, 28
- Heraclea, proposed foundation of in Sicily, V. 43
- Heracles, in Greek legend son of Amphitryon and father of Hyllus, II. 43-45, 145, V. 43, VI. 53, VII. 193, 204, VIII. 43; Greek cult, VII. 176, V. 63, VI. 108, 116; cults of deities identified with Heracles in Egypt and elsewhere, I. 7, II. 42, 44, 83, 113, 144, IV. 8, 10, 59, 82; Herodotus' conclusion as to a "double Heracles," II. 44; Pillars of Heracles (Straits of



## INDEX

- Gibraltar) farthest western waters known to Herodotus, II. 33, IV. 8, 42, 152, 181, 185, 196, VIII. 132
- Heraclidae, ancestors of Spartan kings, V. 43, VII. 208, VIII. 114, IX. 26, 33. Heraclid dynasty in Lydia, I. 7, 13, 91
- Heraclides, (1) a man of Cyme, I. 158, V. 37. (2) A man of Mylasa, a Carian leader, V. 121
- Heraeum, a town near Perinthus, IV. 90
- Here, her temple at Samos, I. 70, II. 182, III. 123, IV. 88, 152, IX. 96; at Argos, I. 31, VI. 81, at Corinth, V. 92, at Naucratis, II. 178, at Plataea, IX. 52, 61, 69
- Hermes, his cult in Greece, II. 51, 145; identified with the Egyptian Thoth, at Bubastis, II. 138; with a Thracian deity, V. 7
- Hermion or Hermione, in S.E. Argolis, III. 59; of Dryopian origin, VIII. 43, 73; its contingent at Plataea, IX. 28, 31
- Hermippus of Atarneus, an emissary from Histiaeus, VI. 4
- Hermolycus, an Athenian, distinguished in the battle of Mycale, IX. 105
- Hermophantus, a Milesian leader in the Ionian revolt, V. 99
- Hermopolis, in Upper Egypt, place of burial for ibises, II. 67
- Hermotimus of Pedasa, story of his sufferings and revenge, VIII. 104-106
- Hermotybies, one of the Egyptian warrior-tribes, II. 164, 168, IX. 32
- Hermus, a river in Lydia, passing near Sardis, I. 55, 80, V. 101
- Herodotus, (1) of Halicarnassus, the historian, I. 1. (2) An Ionian envoy, son of Basileïdes, VIII. 132
- Herophantus, one of the Hellespontian despots in Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138
- Herpys, a man of Thebes in Boeotia, IX. 38
- Hesiod, his date, II. 53; his reference to Hyperboreans, IV. 32.
- Hieron, brother of Gelon of Sicily, VII. 156
- Hieronimus, of Andros, an Olympian prize-winner, IX. 33
- Himera, a town in Sicily, VI. 24; its despot expelled, VII. 165
- Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, his assassination, V. 55, VI. 123; his banishment of Onomacritus, VII. 6
- Hippias, son of Pisistratus, his advice to his father, I. 61; expelled from Athens, V. 65; a refugee in Persia, V. 96; with Datis' army in Attica, VI. 107
- Hippoclide, an Athenian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter; his rejection, VI. 129
- Hippoclus, despot of Lampsacus, with Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138

## INDEX

- Hippocoön, a follower of Cadmus, v. 60
- Hippocrates, (1) an Athenian, father of Pisistratus, i. 59, v. 65.  
 (2) An Athenian, son of Megacles, vi. 131. (3) Despot of Gela, son of Pantares, vii. 154; his capture of Zancle, vi. 23.  
 (4) A man of Sybaris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Hippocratides, a Spartan, ancestor of Leutychides, viii. 131
- Hippolaus' promontory, in Scythia, between the Hypanis and the Borysthenes, iv. 53
- Hippolochus, ancestor of a Lycian line of Ionian kings, i. 147
- Hippomachus, a Leucadian diviner with Mardonius' army at Plataea, ix. 38
- Hipponicus, (1) son of Pisistratus' enemy Callias, an Athenian, vi. 121. (2) Father of Callias, Athenian envoy to Persia about 450 B.C., vii. 151
- Hestia, goddess of the hearth, ii. 50; her name Tabiti in Scythia, iv. 59, 127
- Histiæa, in northern Euboea, vii. 175, viii. 23, 66; Histiaean country in Thessaly, formerly a Dorian possession, i. 56
- Histiaeus, (1) despot of Miletus; his protection of Darius' bridge over the Ister, iv. 137-139; enforced attendance on Darius, v. 23-25; instigation of Ionian revolt, v. 35; return to Ionia, v. 106-108; escape from the Persians, vi. 1-6; further adventures and death, vi. 26-31. (2) A man of Termera, a Carian despot deposed by the Ionians, v. 37; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98. (3) A Samian, viii. 85
- Homer, his theory of the ocean disbelieved, ii. 23; his probable date, ii. 53; quoted as to Paris and Helen, ii. 116, 117; as to Libya, iv. 29; his alleged poem, "the Epigoni," iv. 32; his celebration of Argives, v. 67; of Athens, vii. 161
- Hoples, eponymous hero of an old Athenian tribe, son of Ion, v. 66
- Hyacinthia, a summer festival at Sparta in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus, ix. 7, 11
- Hyampea, one of the peaks of Parnassus, viii. 39
- Hyampolis, a town in Phocis, viii. 33; Thessalian disaster there, viii. 28
- Hyatae, one of the tribes at Sicily, so named by Cleisthenes, v. 68
- Hybla, a town in Sicily, vii. 155
- Hydarnes, (1) one of the seven Persian conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70; vii. 66, 83. (2) Son of the above, vi. 133;

## INDEX

- commander of Xerxes' "Ten Thousand," vii. 83; governor of the seaboard of W. Asia Minor, vii. 135; his command at Thermopylae, vii. 211, 215, 218; with Xerxes in his flight after Salamis, viii. 113, 118
- Hydrea, an island S.E. of Argolis, iii. 59
- Hyela, an Italian town (Velia) colonised by Phocaeans, i. 167
- Hylaea (Woodland), a district of Scythia, east of the Borysthenes, iv. 9, 18, 54, 76
- Hyllees, a Sicyonian tribe so named after Cleisthenes' death, v. 68
- Hyllus, (1) son of Heracles, ancestor of the Spartan royal families, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131; his death, ix. 26. (2) A tributary of the river Hermus in Lydia, i. 80
- Hymaees, a Persian commander in the second Ionian revolt, v. 116, 122
- Hymessus (Hymettus), a hill outside Athens, vi. 137
- Hypachaei, an old name for Cilicians, vii. 91
- Hypacyris, a Scythian river, apparently east of the Borysthenes, iv. 47, 55
- Hypanis, a Scythian river (Boug), iv. 18, 47, 52, 81
- Hyperanthes, a son of Darius, killed at Thermopylae, vii. 224
- Hyperboreans, a people alleged to inhabit the farthest north of Europe, iv. 13; story of their communication with Delos, iv. 32-36
- Hyperoche, one of two maidens alleged to have come to Delos from the Hyperboreans, iv. 33
- Hyrcanians, a people in the Persian empire, S. of the Caspian, iii. 117; in Xerxes' army, vii. 62
- Hyrgis (or Syrgis), a Scythian river (probably the Donetz), iv. 57
- Hyria, a town in S. Italy (Oria), alleged to be founded by Cretans, vii. 170
- Hyrocaedes, a Mardian, his discovery of a way into Sardis, i. 84
- Hysiae, a village on the slopes of Cithaeron, in Attica; taken by Boeotians, v. 74; vi. 108; part played by it on the battle-field of Plataea, ix. 15, 25
- Hysseldomus, a Carian, vii. 98
- Hystanes, a Persian, vii. 77
- Hystaspes, (1) father of Darius; his pledge to Cyrus of Darius' fidelity, i. 209, 210; governor of the province of Persia, iii. 70. (Elsewhere a patronymic.) (2) A son of Darius, vii. 64
- Hytennees, a Pisidian tribe; their tribute to the Persian empire, iii. 90

## INDEX

- Iadmon, a Samian, his slaves Rhodopis and Aesopus, II. 134  
 Iamidae, a family of diviners in Elis, v. 44, IX. 33  
 Iapygia, in the heel of Italy, III. 138, IV. 99, VII. 170  
 Iardanus, a Lydian, I. 7  
 Iason, his voyage in the Argo, IV. 179, VII. 193  
 Iatragoras, an agent of the Ionians in revolt against Darius, v. 37  
 Ibanollis, a man of Mylasa, v. 37, 121  
 Iberians, their traffic with Phocaea, I. 163; attack on Gelon of Sicily, VII. 165  
 Icarian sea, VI. 95  
 Ichnae, a town in Macedonia, near the coast, VII. 123  
 Ichthyophagi, a tribe inhabiting Elephantine, Cambyses' interpreters in his mission to the Ethiopians, III. 19-23  
 Ida, a mountain in the Troad, I. 151; Xerxes' route past it, VII. 42  
 Idanthyrus, a Scythian king, IV. 76; in command of Scythians against Darius, IV. 120; his defiance of Darius, IV. 127  
 Idriad district in Caria, v. 118  
 Ielysus, a Dorian town in Rhodes, I. 144  
 Ienysus, a town in Syria, near the Egyptian frontier, III. 5.  
 Iliad, story of Paris and Helen in it, II. 116  
 Ilissus, a river in Attica; temple of Boreas built near it, VII. 189  
 Ilium, the Trojan war there, I. 5, II. 10, 117-120, VII. 20, 161; Troad subdued by Persians, v. 122; traversed by Xerxes, VII. 42  
 Illyria, customs of the Eneti there, I. 196; river Angrus there, IV. 49; flight to Illyria of the Temenid brothers, VIII. 137; Illyrian invasion of Greece, IX. 43  
 Imbros, in the N.E. Aegean, v. 26, VI. 41, 104  
 Inachus, father of Io, I. 1.  
 Inaros of Libya, his revolt against Persia in 460 B.C., III. 12, 15, VII. 7  
 Indians, their tribute to Persia, III. 94; their customs, III. 97-102, 104; conquest by Darius, IV. 44; most numerous people in the world, v. 3; in Xerxes' army, VII. 65, 86; with Mar-donius, VIII. 113, IX. 31. Indian dogs, I. 192, VII. 187  
 Indus, the river, Darius' exploration of it, IV. 44  
 Ino, wife of Athamas, VII. 197  
 Intaphrenes, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians III. 70, 78; his presumption and punishment, III. 118

## INDEX

- Inyx (or Inycus), a town in Sicily, probably near Acragas, vi. 123
- Io, daughter of Inachus, her abduction, i. 1, 5; depicted in the form of a cow, ii. 41
- Iolcus, a town offered by the Thessalians to the exiled Hippias, v. 94
- Ion, eponymous ancestral hero of the Ionians, v. 66, vii. 94, viii. 44
- Ionians, subdued by Croesus, i. 6; Dorian and Ionian races, i. 56; threatened by Cyrus, i. 141, 142; their settlements in Asia, i. 143-153, ii. 178; conquest by Cyrus, i. 159-171; Ionian beliefs about Egypt refuted, ii. 15, 16; Sesostri's inscriptions in Ionia, ii. 106; Ionian pirates in Egypt, ii. 152; Amasis' Ionian guards, ii. 163; tribute paid by Ionians to Persia, iii. 90; Ionians with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 89; left to guard the Ister bridge, iv. 97, 128, 133, 136-142; Ionian revolt against Darius, v. 28-38; Ionian and Phoenician writing, v. 58, 59; Ionian tribes in Attica, v. 69; Ionian dress, v. 87; course of Ionian revolt, and burning of Sardis, v. 97-103, 108-115; reduction of Ionian towns, v. 116-123; continuance of revolt and its final suppression, vi. 1-32 passim; Persian organisation of Ionia, vi. 42; Ionia "exposed to many risks" (in story of Glaucus), vi. 86; Ionians in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 94; Themistocles' appeal to them, viii. 22; Athenians called Ionians, viii. 44; Ionians in Peloponnese, viii. 73; Ionian ships with Xerxes at Salamis, viii. 85, 90; appeals from Ionia to the Greeks for help, viii. 132, ix. 90; Ionian desertion of Persians at Mycale, ix. 98, 103; revolt against Persia, ix. 104, 106; (other unimportant reff.)
- Ionian sea, vii. 20, ix. 92
- Iphiclus, father of Protesilaus, ix. 116
- Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon; human sacrifice offered to her in Scythia, iv. 103
- Ipni (Ovens), name of rocks at the foot of Pelion, the scene of a Persian shipwreck, vii. 188
- Irasa, in Libya, the site of the founding of Cyrene, iv. 158
- Irens, Spartan young men between 20 and 30 years of age, ix. 85
- Is (Hit), a place eight days distant from Babylon, on a river of the same name, producing bitumen, i. 179
- Isagoras, an Athenian, rival of Cleisthenes the reformer, and supported by Sparta, v. 66, 70-74



## INDEX

- Ischenoüs, an Aeginetan, vii. 181
- Isis, an Egyptian deity, identified by Herodotus with Demeter, *q.v.*; represented with a cow's head, ii. 41, iv. 186; her temple at Busiris, ii. 59
- Ismaris, lake in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 109
- Ismenian, epithet of Apollo at Thebes, i. 52, 92, v. 59, viii. 134
- Issedones, a people living north of the Caspian, probably, i. 201, iv. 13, 16, 32; their customs, iv. 26
- Isthmus of Corinth, Greek council of war there, vii. 172; decision to guard it, viii. 40; to withdraw the fleet thither from Salamis, viii. 56; decision reversed, viii. 63; fortification of the isthmus, viii. 71; Peloponnesian policy of holding it, ix. 7-10; Greek advance from the isthmus, ix. 19; dedication of spoils of war there, viii. 121, ix. 81
- Istria, a Milesian colony at the mouth of the Ister, ii. 33
- Istrus (Ister, Danube), compared to the Nile, ii. 26, 33; its course and tributaries, iv. 47-50; bridged by Darius, iv. 89; Ister ten days' journey from the Borysthenes, iv. 101; Darius' recrossing of the river, iv. 141; unknown country N. of the Ister, v. 9 (some other unimportant ref.)
- Italia, river Crathis there, i. 145; Democedes in Italy, iii. 136-138; Metapontium, iv. 15; adventures of Dorieus in Italy, v. 43, 44; Athenian threat to migrate to Siris in Italy, viii. 62
- Itanus, a town in Crete, iv. 151
- Ithome, a hill and town in Messenia, ix. 35 (but the reading is doubtful).
- Iyrcæ, a Scythian hunting tribe, iv. 22
- Labda, mother of Cypselus, despot of Corinth, v. 92
- Labdacus of Thebes, father of Laius, v. 59
- Labraunda, in Caria; temple of a war-god there, v. 119
- Labynetus, (1) ruler of Babylon, i. 74. (2) His son, also ruler of Babylon, temp. Cyrus, i. 77, 188
- Lacedaemon (and Sparta); Lycurgus' legislation, i. 65, 66; Croesus' friendship with Lacedaemon, i. 69; Lacedaemon war with Argos, i. 82; with Tegea, i. 67, 68; attack on Samos, iii. 44-47, 54-56; Theras' colonising expedition from Lacedaemon, iv. 147-149; state of Sparta under Cleomenes, v. 39-43; Lacedaemonian invasion of Attica to expel the Pisistratids, v. 63-65, 70-76; feud between Spartan kings, and

## INDEX

- origin of dual kingship, vi. 51, 52, 61-71; rights and duties of the kings, vi. 56-60; war with Argos, vi. 76-82; Spartan force too late for Marathon, vi. 120; claim to command against the Persians, vii. 159; Lacedaemonians under Leonidas at Thermopylae, vii. 204-232; Lacedaemonian envoys at Athens to maintain Athenian alliance, viii. 142-144; dilatory policy of Lacedaemonians after Salamis, ix. 7-11; their advance into Boeotia, ix. 19; Spartan tactics before Plataea, and conduct in the battle, ix. 46-70; at Mycale, ix. 102-104 (many other incidental reff.; see also Cleomenes, Eurybiades, Demaratus, Leonidas, Pausanias.)
- Lacmon, a mountain in N.W. Greece, above Apollonia, ix. 93
- Lacrines, a Spartan envoy to Cyrus, i. 152
- Lade, an island off Miletus, headquarters of the Ionian fleet in the revolt against Darius, vi. 7, 11
- Ladice of Cyrene, wife of Amasis of Egypt, ii. 181
- Laius, son of Labdacus, and father of Oedipus, v. 59; his oracles, v. 43
- Lampito, daughter of Leutychides, king of Sparta, vi. 71
- Lampon, (1) a Samian envoy to the Greeks before Mycale, ix. 90. (2) An Athenian, ix. 21. (3) An Aeginetan, his advice to Pausanias to impale the corpse of Mardonius, ix. 78
- Lamponium, a Lesbian colony in Mysia, v. 26
- Lampsacus, in the Troad, on the Hellespont, v. 117; its hostility to Miltiades, vi. 37
- Laodamas, (1) son of Eteocles of Thebes, v. 61. (2) An Aeginetan, iv. 152. (3) Despot of Phocaea, with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 138
- Laodice, one of the Hyperborean visitants at Delos, iv. 33
- Lapithae, a pre-Hellenic race; a Lapith at Corinth, v. 92
- Laphanes, an Azanian, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Lasonii, a people on the borders of Lycia; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 77
- Lasus of Hermione, his detection of a forgery, vii. 6
- Laurium, in Attica, Athenian revenue from its silver mines, vii. 144
- Laüs, a town on the W. coast of southern Italy, vi. 21
- Leagrus, an Athenian general in Thrace, 465 B.C., ix. 75
- Learchus, brother and murderer of the second Arcesilaus of Cyrene, iv. 160
- Lebadea, in northern Greece, its oracular shrine of Trophonius, viii. 134

## INDEX

- Lebaea, a town in Macedonia, viii. 137  
 Lebedos, an Ionian town in Lydia, i. 142  
 Lectus, a promontory in the Troad, ix. 114  
 Leleges, old name of the Carians, i. 171  
 Lemnos, off the Troad, colonised by the Minyae, iv. 145; its Pelasgian inhabitants, v. 26, vi. 138; their crime and penalty, vi. 138-140; Lemnians in Peloponnese, viii. 73  
 Leobotes, a king of Sparta, Lycurgus' ward, i. 65, vii. 204  
 Leocedes, an Argive, one of the suitors for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127  
 Leon (1) of Troezen, captain of the first Greek ship captured by Xerxes' fleet, vii. 180. (2) A king of Sparta, i. 65, v. 39, vii. 204  
 Leonidas, king of Sparta, son of Anaxandrides, v. 41; his command and death at Thermopylae, vii. 204-238; atonement for his death demanded by Sparta, viii. 114; Pausanias' refusal to avenge Leonidas on Mardonius' dead body, ix. 79  
 Leontiades, commander of the Thebans at Thermopylae, vii. 205, 233  
 Leontini, a town in Sicily, vii. 154  
 Leoprepes, (1) a Spartan, vi. 85. (2) A Cean, father of Simonides, vii. 228  
 Lepreum, a town in Elis, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148; its contingent at Plataea, ix. 28  
 Lerisæ, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149  
 Leros, off the Carian coast, proposal that the Ionian rebels against Darius should take refuge there, v. 125  
 Lesbos, Aeolian towns there, i. 151; islands in the Araxes alleged to be as big as Lesbos, i. 202; Lesbians defeated by Polycrates of Samos, iii. 39; their fleet in the Ionic revolt, vi. 8; Lesbos reconquered by Persians, vi. 31; received into Greek alliance after Mycale, ix. 106  
 Leto, identified with the Egyptian Uat; her oracular shrine at Buto, ii. 59, 152, 155  
 Leucadians, in N.W. Greece; in the Greek fleet, viii. 45, 47; in Pausanias' army at Plataea, ix. 28  
 Leucæ stelæ (White Columns), a place on the river Marsyas in Caria, v. 118  
 Leuce Acte (White Strand), in Thrace, a centre for Xerxes' commissariat, vii. 25  
 Leucon, a place in Libya, defeat of the second Arcesilaus by Libyans there, iv. 160

## INDEX

- Leucon teichos (White Fort) at Memphis, held by a Persian garrison, III. 91
- Leutychides, (1) a Spartan, great-great-grandfather of Leutychides, king of Sparta, VIII. 131. (2) King of Sparta; enemy and successor of Demaratus, VI. 65, 67; his family, VI. 71; his death (469 B.C.), VI. 72; his appeal to Athens to surrender Aeginetan hostages (story of Glaucus), VI. 86; his command of the Greek force before and at Mycale, IX. 90, 92, 98; return to Greece, IX. 114
- Libya, part of it submerged by the Nile flood, II. 18; extent of Libya, II. 32; story of a crossing of the Libyan desert, *ib.*; Poseidon a Libyan deity, II. 50; Libya and Dodona, II. 54-56; Libyans a healthy people, II. 77; Libyan tribute to Persia, III. 91; heat of Libya, IV. 29; Darius' proposed conquest of Libya, IV. 145, 167; list of Libyan tribes and description of their manners and customs, IV. 168-199; circumnavigation of Libya, IV. 42-43; early history of Cyrene, IV. 150-164; Dorieus in Libya, V. 42; Ethiopians of Libya woolly haired, VII. 70; Libyans in Xerxes' army, VII. 71, 86; with the Carthaginians in the attack on Gelon, VII. 165
- Lichas, a Spartan, his discovery at Tegea, I. 67
- Lide, a hill in Caria, defended against the Persians, I. 174
- Ligyes, (1) an Asiatic contingent in Xerxes' army, apparently from near the Halys, VII. 72. (2) Ligurians, V. 9; their part in the invasion of Sicily, VII. 165
- Limeneïum, a place near Miletus, defeat there of Milesians by Sardyattes, I. 18
- Lindus, in Rhodes, temple of Athene there, II. 182; Lindian founders of Gela in Sicily, VII. 153
- Linus, a youth lamented in Greek song, identified by Herodotus with the Egyptian Maneros, II. 79 (see note *ad loc.*)
- Lipaxus, a town in Chalcidice, VII. 123
- Lipoxais, one of the three mythical ancestors of the Scythian nation, IV. 5.
- Lipsydrium, probably on Mt. Parnes in Attica; fortified by the Alcmeonidae, V. 62
- Lisae, a town in Chalcidice, VII. 123
- Lisus, a town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, VII. 108
- Locrians, in Italy (Epizephyrii), VI. 23; opposite to Euboea (Opuntians), VII. 132; in the Persian armies, VIII. 66, IX. 31; with the Greeks at Thermopylae, VII. 203, 207; Locrian ships

## INDEX

- in the Greek fleet, viii. 1; Ozolian Locrians, flight of the Delphians thither, viii. 32
- Lotophagi, in the Cyrenacan part of northern Libya, on the sea coast, iv. 177, 183
- Loxias, title of the Delphic Apollo, i. 91, iv. 163
- Lycaretus, a Samian, brother of Maeandrius, iii. 143; made governor of Lemnos by the Persians, v. 27
- Lycians, their kings of Ionia, i. 147; Lycians originally Cretans, i. 173; their resistance to the Medes, i. 176; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 92
- Lycidas, an Athenian, put to death for advising negotiations with Persians, ix. 5
- Lycomedes, an Athenian, distinguished in a sea-fight off Artemisium, viii. 11
- Lycopas, a Spartan, distinguished in an attack on Samos, iii. 55
- Lycophron, son of Periander of Corinth; his quarrel with his father, iii. 50-53
- Lycurgus, (1) the Spartan legislator, i. 65, 66. (2) An Athenian, leader of the "men of the plain," son of Aristolaïdas, i. 59. (3) An Arcadian, vi. 127
- Lycus, (1) an Athenian, son of Pandion; Lycia called after him, i. 173, vii. 92. (2) A Scythian, iv. 76. (3) A river in Scythia, flowing into the Maeëtian lake, iv. 123. (4) A river in Phrygia, flowing by Colossae, vii. 30
- Lydians, *passim* i. 6-56, 69-92 (but without any important mention of the name; see Sardis and Croesus); notable sights in Lydia, and its customs, i. 93, 94; Ionians in Lydia, i. 142; Croesus' advice as to Cyrus' government of Lydia, i. 154-156; Lydian tribute to Persia, iii. 90; Lydian theory of the name Asia, iv. 45; wealth of Lydia, v. 49; Alcmeon's good offices to Lydians, vi. 125; Xerxes' passage through Lydia, vii. 30-32; Lydians in his army, vii. 74
- Lydias, a river between Bottiaea and Macedonia, vii. 127
- Lydus, son of Atys, origin of the name Lydia, i. 7, 171, vii. 74
- Lygdamis, (1) a Halicarnassian, father of Artemisia, vii. 99. (2) A Naxian, a friend and helper of Pisistratus, i. 61, 64
- Lynceus, alleged to have come with his uncle Danaüs from Chemmis in Egypt, ii. 91
- Lysagoras, (1) a Milesian, father of Histiaeus, v. 30. (2) A Parian, son of Tisias; enemy of the younger Miltiades, vi. 133
- Lysanias of Eretria, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Lysicles, an Athenian, viii. 21



## INDEX

Lysimachus, an Athenian, father of Aristides, VIII. 79

Lysistratus, an Athenian oracle-monger, VIII. 96

Macaë, a tribe on the Libyan coast, IV. 175, V. 42

Macedonians, a name for Dorians in their early settlements near Mt. Pindus, I. 56, VIII. 43

Macedonia, access to it from the east, V. 17; fate of Persian envoys there, V. 18-20; subdued by Mardonius, VI. 44; passes from Macedonia into Thessaly, VII. 128, 173; Macedonians in Xerxes' army, VII. 185, at Plataea, IX. 31; story of the beginnings of the Temenid dynasty, VIII. 137-139; Macedonians governing Boeotia for Persians, VIII. 34 (see also Alexander).

Machlyes, a tribe on the Libyan coast, IV. 178, 180

Macistius, see Masistius.

Macistus, a town in the west of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, IV. 148

Macrones, a tribe S.E. of the Euxine, II. 104; their tribute to Persia, III. 94; in Xerxes' army, VII. 78

Mactorium, a town near Gela in Sicily, VII. 153

Madyes, a Scythian king; his invasion of Media and conquest of Asia, I. 104

Madytus, a town in the Thracian Chersonese, near Xerxes' bridge, VII. 33, IX. 120

Maeander, a river between Lydia and Caria; its windings, II. 29; source at Celaenae, VII. 26; crossed by Xerxes, VII. 30

Maeandrius, secretary to Polycrates of Samos, III. 124; Polycrates' deputy, III. 142; his death, III. 143

Maeëtaë, a tribe north of the Maeëtian lake, IV. 123; the Tanaïs called Maeëtian, IV. 45

Maeëtian lake (Palus Maeotis, Sea of Azov), its distance from the Phasis, I. 104; mouth of the Tanaïs there, IV. 57, 100; nearly as large as the Euxine, IV. 86, 110, 116, 120, 123

Magdolos (Migdol of O.T.), on the Egyptian and Syrian frontier; alleged scene of a battle (really fought not here but at Megiddo) between Egyptians and Syrians, II. 159

Magi, a Median tribe of magicians and interpreters of dreams, I. 101; their services in this respect, I. 107, 120, 128, 132, 140, VII. 19, 37, 43, 113, 191; the Magian usurpation of royalty and its end, III. 61, 63-69, 71, 74-80

Magnesia, (1) a district in Thessaly, Xerxes' fleet there, VII. 183, 193; Magnesians in Xerxes' army, VII. 132, 185. (2) A

## INDEX

- town in Asia near the Maeander, taken by Medes, i. 161;  
 Polycrates put to death there by Oroetes, iii. 125; Magnesian  
 tribute to Persia, iii. 90
- Malea, the southernmost promontory of Peloponnese; all western  
 Greece as far as Malea once ruled by Argos, i. 82; Iason's  
 voyage near it, iv. 179; Coreyraeans' pretext that they could  
 not pass Malea, vii. 168
- Malene, near Atarneus in Mysia, scene of a battle in the Ionian  
 revolt, vi. 29
- Males, an Aetolian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Mandane, daughter of Astyages and mother of Cyrus, i. 107, 111
- Mandrocles, a Samian, constructor of Darius' bridge over the  
 Bosporus, iv. 87, 88
- Maneros, son of Min, the first king of Egypt; lament for his  
 early death identified with the Greek Linus-song, ii. 79
- Manes, an early Lydian king, i. 94, iv. 45
- Mantineia, in Arcadia; an arbitrator sent thence to settle the  
 affairs of Cyrene, iv. 161; Mantineans at Thermopylae, vii.  
 202; their late arrival at Plataea, ix. 77
- Mantyes, a Paeonian, his and his brother's proposal to the  
 Persians to annex Paeonia, v. 12
- Maraphii, a Persian tribe, i. 125
- Marathon, on the N.E. coast of Attica; Pisistratus' landing  
 there after exile, i. 62; Persian landing under Datis, vi. 102;  
 preliminaries to the battle, and the battle itself, vi. 107-117  
 (a few more unimportant reff.)
- Mardi, a Persian tribe, i. 125
- Mardonius, son of Gobryas, his expedition to Greece and ship-  
 wreck off Athos, vi. 43-45; his warlike counsel to Xerxes,  
 vii. 5, 9; one of the six generals in command of Xerxes' army,  
 vii. 82, 121; in Xerxes' confidence, viii. 97; proposal for  
 operations in Greece after Salamis, viii. 100-102; Xerxes'  
 promise that Mardonius should give the Greeks satisfaction  
 for the death of Leonidas, viii. 114; Mardonius in Thessaly,  
 viii. 131; his consultation of oracles, viii. 135; proposal  
 through Alexander for an Athenian alliance, viii. 140; his  
 second capture of Athens, ix. 3; retreat into Boeotia and  
 position there, ix. 14, 15; operations near Plataea, ix. 17-  
 25, 38-40; dispute between Mardonius and Artabazus, ix.  
 41, 42; taunting message to Spartans, ix. 48; his cavalry  
 attack on the Greeks, ix. 49; final engagement, and death  
 of Mardonius, ix. 61-63; his burial, ix. 84

## INDEX

- Mardontes, a Persian, one of Xerxes' officers, vii. 80; in command of Persian fleet after Salamis, viii. 130; his death at Mycale, ix. 102
- Marea, a frontier post in western Egypt, ii. 18, 30
- Mares, a tribe apparently on the S.E. coast of the Euxine; tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 79
- Mariandyni, a tribe in Paphlagonia; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72
- Maris, a northern tributary of the Danube, according to Herodotus (but this is wrong, if Maris is modern Marosch), iv. 49
- Maron, a Spartan distinguished at Thermopylae, vii. 227
- Maronea, a Greek town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 109
- Marsyas, (1) the "Silenus" according to legend worsted in a musical competition and flayed by Apollo, vii. 26. (2) A river in Caria, v. 118. (The better known Marsyas in Phrygia is called Catarrhactes by Herodotus, vii. 26.)
- Mascames, Persian governor of Doriscus in Thrace; his defence of the town, vii. 105
- Masistes, son of Darius, one of the six generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121; his quarrel with Artayntes, ix. 107; victim of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, ix. 110-113.
- Masistius, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 79; in command of cavalry at Plataea, ix. 20; his death, and mourning for him, ix. 22, 24
- Maspaii, a Persian tribe, i. 125
- Massages, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 71
- Massagetæ, a people apparently N. of the Caspian; Cyrus' campaign against them, i. 201, 204-208, 211-214; their customs, i. 215, 216; Scythians driven from their country by Massagetæ, iv. 11
- Massalia (Massilia, Marseilles), v. 9
- Matieni, a people of doubtful locality; on the right of the Halys, i. 72; source of the Araxes, i. 202; of the Gyndes, i. 189; of the modern "Greater Zab," v. 52; west of Armenia, v. 49; tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72
- Matten, a Tyrian officer in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98
- Mausolus, a man of Cindye in Caria, v. 118
- Mecisteus, brother of Adrastus according to legend, and slain by Melanippus, v. 67
- Mecyberna, a town on the Sithonian promontory of Chalcidice, vii. 122
- Medea, her abduction by Iason, i. 2; Media called after her, vii. 62

## INDEX

- Medians (as distinct from Persians), their war with Lydia, I. 16; the Halys their frontier, I. 72; Cyaxares' feud with Scythians, I. 73; Medians' revolt from Assyria, and growth of their power, I. 95-102; conquered by Scythians, I. 104, IV. 1; their liberation, I. 106, IV. 4; subjection of Media to Persia by Cyrus, I. 123-130; Median system of government, I. 134; their dress, I. 135, III. 84, V. 9; Babylonians alarmed by Median power, I. 185; Median tribute to Persia, III. 92; horses, III. 106, VII. 40; Media on the northern frontier of Persia, IV. 37; Medians in Xerxes' army, VII. 62; at Thermopylae, VII. 210; in Mardonius' army, VIII. 113, IX. 31, 40
- Megabates, a Persian general, Darius' cousin, V. 32, 35
- Megabazus, (1) a Persian general, left by Darius in Thrace on his Scythian expedition, IV. 143; Darius' estimation of him, *ib.*; his operations in Thrace, V. 1, 10, 12, 14, 17, 23. (2) One of Xerxes' admirals, son of Megabates, VII. 97
- Megabyzus, (1) a Persian, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians, III. 70; advocate of oligarchy for Persia, III. 81. (2) A Persian, father of Zopyrus, III. 153. (3) Son of Zopyrus; one of the generals of Xerxes' army, VII. 82, 121; in command subsequently in Egypt, III. 160
- Megacles, (1) an Athenian, father of Alcmeon, VI. 125. (2) Son of Alcmeon; leader of the "Men of the Coast," I. 59; father-in-law of Pisistratus, I. 61; married to the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, VI. 127, 130. (3) Grandson of Megacles (2), and grandfather of Pericles, VI. 131
- Megacreon, of Abdera, his saying about the feeding of Xerxes' army, VII. 120
- Megadostes, a Persian, VII. 105
- Megapanus, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, afterwards governor of Babylon, VII. 62
- Megara, a Dorian settlement, on the borders of Attica, V. 76; Megarians in the Greek fleet, VIII. 1, 45; in Pausanias' army, IX. 21, 28, 31; their disaster, IX. 69, 85. Megarians of Sicily, their treatment by Gelon, VII. 156
- Megasidrus, a Persian, VII. 72
- Megistias, an Acarnanian diviner, with Leonidas at Thermopylae, VII. 219, 221; his epitaph, VII. 228
- Meionians, old name of Lydians, I. 7; in Xerxes' army, VII. 74
- Melampus, a legendary hero and teacher; his introduction of the cult of Dionysus into Greece, II. 49; ancestor of Megistias, VII. 221; his demand of privileges at Argos, IX. 34

## INDEX

- Melampygy, name of a rock on the mountain side above Thermopylae, vii. 216
- Melanchlaeni (Black-Cloaks), a tribe N. of Scythia, iv. 20, 100; their customs, iv. 107; their part in the war with Darius, iv. 119, 125
- Melanippus, (1) a legendary Theban hero; his cult introduced at Sicyon, v. 67. (2) A Mytilenaeon, a friend of the poet Alcaeus, v. 95
- Melanthius, an Athenian commander sent to assist the Ionian rebels against Darius, v. 97
- Melanthus, father of Codrus, i. 147, v. 65
- Melas (black), epithet of (1) a river in Thrace, crossed by Xerxes, vii. 58. (2) A bay into which the above flows, vi. 41, vii. 58. (3) A river in Malis near Thermopylae, vii. 198
- Meles, king of Sardis, i. 84
- Meliboea, near the coast of Magnesia; wreck of Xerxes' fleet near it, vii. 188
- Melians (of Melis, or Malis), their submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; mountains of Melis, vii. 198; Thermopylae in Melis, vii. 201; discovery of the Anopaea path, vii. 215; Melians in Persian armies, viii. 66, ix. 31; Melian gulf a stage on the way from the Hyperboreans to Delos, iv. 33
- Melians of Melos, colonists from Lacedaemon, in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48
- Melissa, wife of Periander of Corinth, iii. 50, v. 92
- Membliarus, a Phoenician, founder of a settlement in the island of Calliste or Thera, iv. 147
- Memnon, legendary king of Ethiopia; a rock figure in Ionia wrongly taken to represent him, ii. 106; Susa called "Memnonian," v. 53, vii. 151
- Memphis, in Egypt, its temple of "Hephaestus," ii. 3, 112, 153; pyramids there, ii. 8; hills above it, ii. 12, 158; Nile flood below Memphis, ii. 97, 99; works of Min there, ii. 99; precinct of Proteus, ii. 112; quarries of Memphis, ii. 175; water supply from Memphis, iii. 6; Memphis taken by Cambyses, iii. 13; his return thither from Ethiopia, iii. 25; his sacrilege there, iii. 37; Persian garrison there, iii. 91; Darius and Syloson at Memphis, iii. 139
- Menares, a Spartan, father of Leutychides, vi. 65, 71, viii. 131
- Mende, a town on the promontory of Pallene in Chalcidice, vii. 123
- Mendes, an Egyptian deity; identified with Pan, ii. 42, 46;



## INDEX

- Mendesian province, II. 42, 46; inhabited by one of the Egyptian warrior tribes, II. 166; Mendesian mouth of the Nile, II. 17
- Menelaus, (1) brother of Agamemnon; his visit to Egypt, II. 118, 119; Cretans reminded of their assistance of Menelaus before Troy, VII. 169, 171. (2) A harbour near Cyrene, IV. 169
- Menius, a Spartan, brother-in-law of Leutychides, VI. 71
- Merbalus, an officer in Xerxes' fleet, from the island of Aradus, VII. 98
- Mermnadae, the reigning dynasty in Lydia from Gyges to Croesus, I. 7, 14
- Meroë, on the Nile, the capital of Ethiopia, II. 29 (probably Napata)
- Mesambria, a town on the Thracian coast of the Aegean, IV. 93, VI. 33, VII. 108
- Messapii, a people near Tarentum, said to be of Cretan origin, VII. 170
- Messene, in Sicily (Messina), otherwise called Zancle; a Coan settlement there, VII. 164
- Messenia, its alliance with Samos, III. 47; wars with Sparta, V. 49, IX. 35, 64
- Metapontium, near Croton in Italy, its story of the reincarnation of Aristeas, IV. 15
- Metiochus, son of the younger Miltiades, his capture by Persians, VI. 41
- Metrodorus, one of the Hellespontian despots with Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138
- Micythus, governor of Rhegium, his defeat by Messapians and his offerings at Olympia, VII. 170
- Midas, king of Phrygia, son of Gordias, his offerings at Delphi, I. 14; his gardens in Macedonia, VIII. 138
- Miletus, in Caria, attacked by Gyges, I. 14; war with Alyattes, I. 17-22; an Ionian town, I. 142; agreement with Cyrus, I. 169; port of Borysthenes a Milesian settlement, IV. 78; wealth and dissensions of Miletus, V. 28, 29; Aristagoras its governor, V. 30; Milesians defeated by Persians in Ionic revolt, V. 120; threatened attack of Miletus by Persians, VI. 5-7; siege, capture, and depopulation of the town, VI. 18-22; Phrynichus' drama on the subject, VI. 22; Persian fleet off Miletus, VI. 31; story of the Milesian and Glaucus, VI. 86; Miletus' foundation by Neleus, IX. 97; Milesians' desertion

## INDEX

- of the Persians at Mycale, ix. 104 (other less important reff.; see also Aristagoras and Histiaeus).
- Milon of Croton, the wrestler, Democedes' alleged betrothal to his daughter, iii. 137
- Miltiades, (1) an Athenian, son of Cypselus, his rule in the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 34-38, 103 (temp. Croesus). (2) Nephew of the above, son of Cimon; also ruler of the Chersonese, vi. 34; his advice to the Ionians to cut off Darius' retreat from Scythia, iv. 137; his escape from the Scythians, vi. 40; from the Phoenicians, vi. 41; one of the ten generals at Marathon, vi. 103, 104; his decision to fight, vi. 109, 110; his attack on Paros, vi. 132; conquest of Lemnos, vi. 140; his impeachment and death, vi. 136
- Milyae, old inhabitants of Lycia, i. 173; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 77
- Min, the first human king of Egypt, ii. 4; his embankment of the Nile near Memphis, ii. 99
- Minoa, in Sicily, a colony from Selinus, v. 46
- Minos, king of Crete, expulsion of his brother Sarpedon, i. 173; his Carian auxiliaries, i. 141; his death in Sicily, vii. 169
- Minyae, a people from Orchomenus, their Asiatic settlements, i. 146; adventures of Minyan descendants of the Argonants in Lacedaemon and the western Peloponnese, iv. 145-148; the first Battus of Cyrene a Minyan, iv. 150
- Mitra, a Persian deity identified with Aphrodite, i. 131
- Mitradates, Cyrus' foster-father, i. 110
- Mitrobates, a Persian governor at Dascyleum, killed by Oroetes, iii. 126
- Mnesarchus, a Samian, iv. 95
- Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, his advice to Themistocles before Salamis, viii. 57
- Moeris, king of Egypt, 900 years before Herodotus, ii. 13; his work at Memphis and elsewhere, ii. 101; lake of Moeris (in the Fayyum) and labyrinth adjacent described, ii. 69, 148, 149; revenue of Persia from it, iii. 91
- Molois, a stream on or near the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 57
- Molossians, a people of Epirus, their alleged settlements in Asia, i. 146
- Molpagoras, a Milesian, father of Aristagoras, v. 30
- Momemphis, in Egypt, battle there between Apries and Amasis, ii. 163, 169

## INDEX

- Mophi, one of two hills alleged to be near the source of the Nile (see Crophi), II. 28
- Moschi, a tribe at the E. end of the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, III. 94; in Xerxes' army, VII. 78
- Mossynoeci, a tribe between Armenia and the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, III. 94; in Xerxes' army, VII. 78
- Munychia, on the Attic coast E. of the Piraeus, the eastern extremity of Xerxes' line before Salamis, VIII. 76
- Murychides, a Hellespontian envoy from Mardonius to the Athenians, IX. 4
- Musaeus, his oracles, VII. 6, VIII. 96, IX. 43
- Mycale, an Ionian promontory opposite Samos; Panionium there, I. 148; flight of Chians thither after Lade, VI. 16; defeat of Persians by Greeks at Mycale, IX. 90, 96-101
- Mycenaeans, at Thermopylae, VII. 202; Heraclidae and Mycenaeans, IX. 27; Mycenaeans in Pausanias' army, IX. 31
- Mycerinus, king of Egypt, son of Cheops, his virtues and misfortunes, and his way of prolonging his life, II. 129-133; his buildings, and economic state of Egypt in his time, II. 136
- Myci, a tribe probably in the south of Persia, their tribute, III. 93; in Xerxes' army, VII. 98
- Myconus, an island in the Aegean, near Delos, VI. 118
- Myecphorite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 166
- Mygdonia, a district on the Thermaic gulf, VII. 123, 127
- Mylasa, a town in Caria; temple of Zeus there, I. 171
- Mylitta, an Assyrian deity identified with Aphrodite, I. 131, 199
- Myrcinus, a town of the Edonians in Thrace, given to Histiaeus, V. 11, 23; Aristagoras' retreat thither, V. 126
- Myriandric gulf, the bay of Issus in Asia Minor, IV. 38
- Myrina, (1) an Aeolian town in Mysia, I. 149. (2) A town in Lemnos, taken by Miltiades, VI. 140
- Myrmex (the Ant), name of a reef between Magnesia and Sciathus, VII. 183
- Myron, grandfather of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, VI. 126
- Myrsilus, Greek name for Candaules, despot of Sardis, I. 7
- Myrsus, (1) father of Candaules, I. 7. (2) A Lydian emissary of Oroetes, III. 122; his death in battle in Caria, V. 121
- Mys, a man of Europus sent by Mardonius to consult oracles, VIII. 133-135
- Mysia, plagued by a wild boar, I. 36; Mysians "brothers" of the Carians, I. 171; their tribute to Persia, III. 90; legendary

## INDEX

- Mysian and Teucrian invasion of Europe, vii. 20; Mysians in Xerxes' army, vii. 74; with Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 32
- Mytilene, in Lesbos; a Lydian refugee there, i. 160; an Aeolian town, ii. 178; Mytilenaeans killed by Egyptians, in war with Cambyses, iii. 13; execution by Mytilenaeans of their despot Coës, v. 11, 38; Mytilene and Athens reconciled by Periander, v. 95; Histiaeus at Mytilene, vi. 5
- Myus, an Ionian town in Caria, i. 142; Ionian despots arrested at Myus, v. 36; its contingent in the Ionian fleet, vi. 8
- Naparis, a northern tributary of the Danube, iv. 48
- Nasamones, a Libyan people near Cyrene, ii. 32; story of their passage of the Libyan desert, *ib.*; their customs, iv. 172, 182, 190
- Nathos, an Egyptian province in the Delta, partly inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 165
- Naucratis, in the west of the Delta, near the sea, ii. 97; its courtesans, ii. 135; its importance as a port, and Greek settlement there, ii. 178-180
- Nauplia, a town on the sea-coast of Argolis, vi. 76
- Naustrophus, a Megarian, iii. 60
- Naxos, in the Aegean, subdued by Pisistratus, i. 64; its wealth and civil dissensions, and proposed annexation by the Persians, v. 28-33; devastated by Datis, vi. 96; desertion of Naxian ships to the Greek fleet, viii. 46. Naxians of Sicily, annexed by Hippocrates of Gela, vii. 154
- Nea; a "new town," (1) in Upper Egypt, ii. 91. (2) In Pallene, vii. 123
- Necos, (1) father of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, killed by Sabacos, ii. 152. (2) Son of Psammetichus; his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, ii. 158; despatch of Phoenicians to circumnavigate Africa, iv. 42
- Nelidae, descendants of Neleus of Pylus; the Pisistratids so described, v. 65
- Neocles, an Athenian, father of Themistocles, vii. 143
- Neon, a town below one of the peaks of Parnassus, viii. 32
- Neon teichos (New Fort), an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
- Nereids, worship of them unknown in Egypt, ii. 50; deities of the Sepias promontory, propitiated by the Magi to abate a storm, vii. 191
- Nesaeon plain in Media, vii. 40; horses bred there, iii. 106, ridden in Xerxes' army and at Plataea, vii. 40, ix. 20

## INDEX

- Nestor, of Pylus, the Homeric hero, ancestor of Pisistratus, v. 65
- Nestus, a river in Thrace flowing past Abdera, crossed by Xerxes, vii. 109; no lions in Europe E. of it, vii. 126
- Neuri, northern neighbours of the Scythians, iv. 17, 100; said to turn into wolves, iv. 105; their part in the war with Darius, iv. 119, 125
- Nicandra, youngest of the priestesses of Dodona, ii. 55
- Nicandrus, a king of Sparta, viii. 131
- Nicodromus of Aegina, his attempted betrayal of Aegina to Athens, vi. 88, 90
- Nicolaus, (1) a Spartan, vii. 134. (2) Son of Bulis and grandson of the above, a victim of the vengeance of Talthybius on the Spartans, vii. 137
- Nile; lower Egypt perhaps the deposit of the Nile, ii. 10; height of inundation, ii. 11; Delta and Nile mouths, ii. 17; theories of the Nile flood, ii. 19-27; known course of the river, ii. 28-30; its upper waters, and comparison of Nile and Danube, ii. 31-34; Nile flood and fish, ii. 93; flood below Memphis, ii. 97; Min's embankment, ii. 99; Nile connected with the lake of Moeris, ii. 149; Necos' canal from Nile to Red Sea, ii. 158, iii. 42; Nile mouths all closed to trade except one, formerly, ii. 179; Nile one of the boundaries of the world, iv. 45; Nile and Danube compared in respect of volume of water, iv. 50; source of the Nile unknown, iv. 53. A priesthood of the Nile, ii. 90
- Nileus, son of Codrus, his foundation of Miletus, ix. 97
- Ninus, (1) son of Belus and king of Assyria, i. 7, ii. 150. (2) Nineveh; taken by the Medes, i. 106, 185; capital of Assyria, superseded by Babylon, i. 178; on the Tigris, i. 193; robbery of Sardanapalus' treasures there, ii. 150
- Nipsaei, a Thracian tribe of Salmydessus, their submission to Darius, iv. 93
- Nisaea, the port of Megara, taken by the Athenians, i. 59
- Nisyros, an island S. of Cos, its ships under Artemisia's command, vii. 99
- Nitetis, daughter of Apries; one of Cambyses' wives, iii. 1
- Nitocris, (1) an Egyptian queen; her revenge for her brother's death, ii. 100. (2) Queen of Babylon; her treatment of the Euphrates, i. 185
- Noës, a Thracian tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
- Nonacris, a town in Arcadia, near the "water of Styx," vi. 74



# INDEX

- Nothon, an Eretrian, vi. 100
- Notium, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
- Nudium, a town in the W. of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
- Nymphodorus, of Abdera, his betrayal of Spartan envoys to the Athenians, vii. 137
- Nysa, in Ethiopia, called "the sacred," its cult of Dionysus, ii. 146, iii. 97
- Oarizus, a Persian, vii. 71
- Oarus, a river in Scythia running into the Palus Maeotis, iv. 123
- Oasis, a town eight days west of the Egyptian Thebes (apparently the modern "Great oasis" of Khargeh), inhabited by Samians; reached by Cambyses' force sent against the Ammonians, iii. 26
- Oaxus, a town in Crete, ruled by Etearchus, iv. 154
- Oceanus, the circle of sea (or river) supposed to surround the whole world; this theory questioned by Herodotus, ii. 21, 23, iv. 8, 36
- Octamasades, a king of Scythia; his murder of his brother Scyles, iv. 80
- Ocytus, a Corinthian, father of Adimantus, viii. 5
- Odomanti, a Thracian or Paeonian tribe inhabiting the range of Pangaeum, v. 16 (if the reading be right), vii. 112
- Odrysae, a Thracian tribe on Darius' route to the Danube, iv. 92
- Odyssey, quoted by Herodotus, ii. 116, iv. 29
- Oea, a place in Aegina; figures of Damia and Auxesia carried thither, v. 83
- Oebares, (1) Darius' groom; his trick to ensure Darius' election as king, iii. 85-88. (2) Persian governor at Dascyleum, son of Megabazus, vi. 33
- Oedipus, son of Laius of Thebes, his "avenging deities," iv. 149; v. 60
- Oenoe, a northern division of Attica, taken by the Boeotians, v. 74
- Oenone, ancient name of Aegina, viii. 46
- Oenotria, the toe of Italy, i. 167
- Oenussae, islands between Chios and Asia Minor; the Phocaeans' proposal to buy them from Chios, i. 165
- Oeobazus, (1) a Persian, Darius' cruel treatment of him, iv. 84.

## INDEX

- (2) A Persian, father of Siromitres, vii. 68. (3) A Persian fugitive from the Greeks in Thrace, his death there, ix. 115, 119
- Oeolycus, son of Theras of Sparta; origin of his name, iv. 149
- Oëroë, a tributary of the Asopus, on or near the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 51
- Oeta, the mountain range S. of Thermopylae, vii. 176, 217
- Oetosyrus, a variant of Goetosyrus, *q.v.*
- Olbiopolitae, Greek name for the people of the Borysthenite port (Olbia) on the Euxine, iv. 18
- Olen, a Lycian hymn-writer, iv. 35
- Olenus, a town on the seacoast of Achaea, i. 145
- Oliatus of Mylasa, his seizure by the Ionians, v. 37
- Olophyxus, a town on the promontory of Athos, vii. 22
- Olorus, a Thracian king, father-in-law of the younger Miltiades, vi. 39
- Olympia, offerings there, vii. 170, ix. 81; sacrifice to obtain oracles, viii. 134
- Olympic games, i. 59; before battle of Thermopylae, vii. 206; of Salamis, viii. 72; victories won by Philippos, v. 47; Cylon, v. 71; Miltiades the elder, vi. 36; Demaratus, vi. 70; Cimon, vi. 103; Callias, vi. 122; Alcmeon, vi. 125; Cleisthenes, vi. 126; Hieronymus, ix. 33; crown of olive given as the prize, viii. 26; management of games by Eleans, ii. 160, vi. 127; competition limited to Greeks, v. 22
- Olympiodorus, an Athenian leader at Plataea, ix. 21
- Olympus, Mount, (1) in Thessaly, i. 56; northern boundary of Thessaly, vii. 129; pass between Olympus and Ossa, vii. 173. (2) In Mysia; haunted by a wild boar, i. 36, 43; Mysians called Olympians, vii. 74
- Olynthus, in Chalcidice, vii. 122; besieged and taken by Artabazus, viii. 127
- Ombrici, the people of central and northern Italy; Lydian settlement there, i. 94; source of a river Alpis in the country above the Ombrici, iv. 49
- Onetae, name given to a Sicyonian tribe by Cleisthenes, v. 68
- Onesilus, a leader in the Cyprian revolt against Darius, v. 104, 108; his duel, and death in battle, v. 110-115
- Onetes of Carystus, Herodotus' denial that he was the Persians' guide over the Anopaea pass at Thermopylae, vii. 214
- Onochonus, a river in Thessaly alleged to have been drunk dry by Xerxes' army, vii. 129, 196

## INDEX

- Onomacritus, an Athenian purveyor or forger of oracles, at Xerxes' court, vii. 7
- Onomastus of Elis, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Onuphite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166
- Ophryneum, a town in the Troad, vii. 43
- Opis, (1) a town on the Tigris (at the highest point of navigation), i. 189. (2) One of the Hyperborean pilgrims to Delos, iv. 35
- Opoea, wife of Ariapithes and afterwards Scyles of Scythia, iv. 78
- Opuntians, see Locrians.
- Orbelus, a mountain in Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the lake-dwellers, v. 16
- Orchomenus, (1) in Arcadia; its contingent at Thermopylae, vii. 202; at Plataea, ix. 28. (2) In Boeotia; Minyans there, i. 146; territory overrun by Persians, viii. 34
- Ordessus, a Scythian tributary of the Danube, iv. 48
- Orestes, son of Agamemnon, discovery of his tomb at Tegea, i. 67
- Orestheum, apparently on the route from Sparta to Megalopolis, ix. 11
- Orgeus, a Thasian, vii. 118
- Oricus, son of Ariapithes, king of Scythia, iv. 78
- Oricus, the port of Apollonia in N.W. Greece, ix. 93
- Orithyia, legendary daughter of Erechtheus and wife of Boreas, vii. 189
- Orneatae, inhabitants of Orneae in Argolis, of inferior status like the Spartan Perioeci, viii. 73
- Oroetes, Persian governor of Sardis, his treacherous murder of Polycrates, iii. 120-125; his downfall and death, iii. 126-129
- Oromedon, a Cilician, vii. 98
- Oropus, on the Attic coast opposite Euboea, vi. 101
- Orotalt, an Arabian deity identified with Dionysus, iii. 8
- Orphic rites, their similarity to Egyptian, ii. 81
- Orsiphantus, a Spartan, vii. 227
- Orus, an Egyptian deity, identified with Apollo, *q.v.*
- Osiris, identified with Dionysus, *q.v.*
- Ossa, a mountain in Thessaly, i. 56; separated from Olympus by the Peneus, vii. 128, 173
- Otanes, (1) a Persian, father of Xerxes' wife Amestris, vii. 40, 61, 82. (2) A Persian, made a judge in place of his father Sisamnes by Cambyses, v. 25; his command against the

## INDEX

- Ionian rebels, v. 116, 123. (3) A Persian, son of Pharnaspes, originator of the conspiracy against the Magians, III. 68-72; his advocacy of democracy for Persia, III. 80; surrender of his claim to be king, III. 83; Darius' father-in-law, III. 88; in command in Samos, III. 144-147
- Otaspes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 63
- Othryades, the one survivor of 300 Lacedaemonians in a battle with 300 Argives, I. 82
- Othrys, the range forming the S. boundary of Thessaly, VII. 129
- Ozolae, see Locrians.
- Pactolus, a river flowing through Sardis, v. 101
- Pactya, a town at the head of the Thracian Chersonese, VI. 36
- Pactyēs, a leader of a Lydian revolt against Cyrus, I. 154; his surrender to the Persians, I. 161
- Pactyēs, a people in the E. of the Persian empire, near India; Scylax' voyage thence down the Indus, IV. 44; in Xerxes' army, VII. 67; another "Pactyice" near Armenia, its tribute to Persia, III. 93
- Padaei, an Indian tribe, said to be cannibals, III. 99
- Paeanian deme of Attica, I. 60
- Paeonia, (1) a country west of Thrace, IV. 49; its war with Perinthus, v. 1; conquest and removal of Paeonians by Persians, v. 12-17, 23; their return, v. 98; on Xerxes' route, VII. 113, 124; in Xerxes' army, VII. 185, IX. 32; their theft of Xerxes' chariot, VIII. 115; Paeonian sacrifices, IV. 33. (2) A place in Attica at the foot of Mt. Parnes, v. 62
- Paeoplae, a Paeonian tribe, v. 15; on Xerxes' route, VII. 113
- Paesus, a Hellespontian town taken by the Persians in the Ionic revolt, v. 117
- Paeti, a Thracian tribe on Xerxes' route, VII. 110
- Paeum (or Paeus), a town in N.W. Arcadia, VI. 127
- Pagasae, at the head of the Pagasaeon gulf in Magnesia, a station of Xerxes' fleet, VII. 193
- Paleēs, a people of Cephallenia; in Pausanias' army, IX. 28
- Palestine, in Syria, I. 105; circumcision practised there, II. 104; pillars set up there by Sesostris, II. 106; Syrians of Palestine in Xerxes' fleet, VII. 89
- Pallas, see Athene; Libyan and "Palladian" worship, IV. 189
- Pallene, one of the promontories of Chalcidice, VII. 123; its people attacked by Artabazus, VII. 126-129
- Pamisus, a river in Thessaly, VII. 129

## INDEX

- Pammon of Scyros, his guidance of the Persian fleet to Magnesia, vii. 183
- Pamphyli, name assumed by a Dorian tribe at Sicyon, v. 68
- Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, subdued by Croesus, i. 28; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; contingent in Xerxes' army, vii. 91; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 68
- Pan, one of the "youngest" Greek gods, ii. 145; his cult at Athens, vi. 105; identified with the Egyptian Mendes, xi. 42, 46, 145
- Panaetius of Tenos, his news of the Persian encirclement of Salamis, viii. 82
- Panathenaea, a festival celebrated every fourth year at Athens; murder of Hipparchus at it, v. 56
- Pandion, a legendary Athenian, father of Lycus the hero of the Lycians, i. 173
- Pangaeum, a mountain range in Thrace, v. 16, vii. 112
- Panionia, the festival of the Ionian stock, i. 148
- Panionium, an Ionian place of meeting for council or ceremonial, near Mycale, i. 148, 170, vi. 7
- Panionius of Chios, his crime and punishment, viii. 105, 106
- Panites, a Messenian, his advice to the Spartans about the royal succession, vi. 52
- Panopeus, on the borders of Phocis and Boeotia, Xerxes' army there, viii. 34
- Panormus, a harbour near Miletus, i. 157
- Pantagnotus, brother of, and put to death by Polycrates of Samos, iii. 39
- Pantaleon, half brother of Croesus, put to death by him for conspiracy, i. 92
- Pantares, a man of Gela, vii. 154
- Panthialaei, a Persian tribe, i. 125
- Panticapes, a river in Scythia east of the Borysthenes, iv. 18, 47, 54
- Pantimathi, a tribe in the Persian empire, S. of the Caspian, their tribute, iii. 92
- Pantites, said to have been sent as a messenger to Sparta from Thermopylae, vii. 232
- Papaeus, a Scythian deity identified with Zeus, iv. 59
- Paphlagonians, west of the Halys in N. Asia Minor, i. 6, 72; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72
- Paphos, Paphian ships in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 195
- Papremis, a town in Egypt, its cult of Ares, ii. 59; ceremonial



## INDEX

- there, II. 63; "river-horses" sacred in the province, II. 71; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 71; a battle there between Persians and Egyptians, III. 12
- Paraebates, a Spartan with Dorieus in Sicily, v. 46
- Paralatae, a race of Scythian kings, IV. 6
- Parapotamii, a town in Phocis burnt by the Persians, VIII. 33
- Paretaceni, a Median tribe, I. 101
- Paricanii, a people in the S.E. of the Persian empire, tribute to Persia, III. 92, 94; in Xerxes' army, VII. 68, 86
- Parium, a town on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, v. 117
- Parmys, daughter of Smerdis and wife of Darius, III. 88, VII. 78
- Parnassus, the mountain above Delphi, a refuge for the Delphians, VIII. 27, 32, IX. 31; repulse of Persians there, VIII. 57
- Paroreatae, a people of the west of the Peloponnese, IV. 148; of Lemnian origin, VIII. 73
- Paros, one of the Cyclades, Parian settlement of the troubles of Miletus, v. 28, 29; Miltiades' repulse from Paros, VI. 133-135; neutrality of Parians in the Persian war, VIII. 67; their bribe to Themistocles, VIII. 112; Parian marble, v. 62
- Parthenium, a mountain in Arcadia, vision of Pan seen there by Phidippides, VI. 105
- Parthenius, a river in the west of Paphlagonia, Syrians in its neighbourhood, II. 104
- Parthians, S.E. of the Caspian, their tribute to Persia, III. 93; in Xerxes' army, VII. 66
- Pasargadae, a Persian tribe, I. 125
- Pasicles, probably an Athenian, IX. 97
- Pataeci, Phoenician images of dwarfs, III. 37
- Pataecus, a man of Acragas, VII. 154
- Patara, in Lycia, a custom of the temple there, I. 182
- Patarbemis, an Egyptian, his message from Apries to Amasis, and cruel treatment by Apries, II. 162
- Patirampbes, Xerxes' charioteer, son of Otanes, VII. 40
- Patizeithes, brother of the pretended Smerdis, his plot to make his brother king, III. 61
- Patrae, a town on the seacoast of Achaea, I. 145
- Patumus, an "Arabian" town, a little way west of the modern Ismailia, canal from the Nile near it, II. 158
- Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus and grandson of Anaxandrides king of Sparta, IX. 10; mentioned repeatedly as leader of the Greeks against Mardonius, IX. 10-82; (personal allusions) his proposal to the Athenians for a rearrangement of the battle

## INDEX

- line, ix. 46; special appeal to Athenians, ix. 60; instance of his generosity and courtesy, ix. 76, 79; bronze caldron dedicated by him on the Bosphorus, iv. 81; his pride and ambition after the Persian war, v. 32, viii. 3
- Pausicae, a tribe S. of the Caspian; their tribute to Persia, iii. 92
- Pausiris, an Egyptian, permitted by the Persians to succeed to the governorship of his rebel father Amyrtaeus, iii. 15
- Pedasus (or Pedasa), a place in Caria, v. 121, vi. 20; singular story of a priestess there, i. 175, viii. 104
- Pedieis, a Phocian town burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
- Pelasgian, a name applied by Herodotus to the oldest known inhabitants and remains in Greece, contrasted with "Hellenic," i. 56; Pelasgian language probably non-Greek, i. 57; Pelasgian forts, *ib.*; Arcadia Pelasgian, i. 146; deities, ii. 50-52; Hellas formerly called Pelasgia, ii. 56; expulsion of Minyae by Pelasgians, iv. 145; Lemnos and Imbros Pelasgian, v. 26; expulsion of Pelasgi from Attica, vi. 137-139; *cp.* v. 64 and viii. 44
- Peleus, Thetis carried off by him from Magnesia, vii. 191
- Pelion, the Argo built there, iv. 179; Pelion and Ossa in the E. of Thessaly, vii. 129; wreck of Xerxes' fleet near Pelion, viii. 8, 12
- Pella, a town in Macedonia, vii. 123
- Pellene, an Achaean town, near Sicyon, i. 145
- Peloponnesse, migration of Dorians thither, i. 56, ii. 171; most of the Peloponnesse subject to Sparta temp. Croesus, i. 68; Peloponnesian tale of Anacharsis, iv. 77; Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, v. 74; Peloponnesian scale of ransom, vi. 79; security of property there, vi. 86; contingents at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Peloponnesians anxious to guard the Isthmus, viii. 40, 49, 71, ix. 8; contingents at Salamis, viii. 43; Artemisia's advice to Xerxes about the Peloponnesse, viii. 68; various nations of Peloponnesse, viii. 73; prophecy of expulsion of Dorians, viii. 141; Peloponnesian armies in antiquity, ix. 26; Athenian jealousy of Peloponnesians, ix. 106; Peloponnesian return from Mycale, ix. 114 (other reff. of less importance)
- Pelops, called by Xerxes a Phrygian settler in Greece, vii. 8, 11; Pelopides a title of Agamemnon, vii. 159
- Pelusium, at the E. mouth of the Nile, near the Arabian frontier of Egypt, ii. 15, 141; Pelusian mouth, ii. 17; Greek settle-

## INDEX

- ments there, II. 154; Psammenitus' encampment there in Cambyses' invasion, III. 10
- Penelope, Pan said to be her son, II. 145, 146
- Penëus, a river in Thessaly, limit of the legendary Mysian and Teucrian invasion from Asia, VII. 20; its mouth viewed by Xerxes, VII. 128; pass into Thessaly along its banks, VII. 173
- Penthylus, his command of Paphian ships in Xerxes' fleet, captured by the Greeks, VII. 195
- Percalus, daughter of Chilon of Sparta, betrothed to Leuty-chides but carried off by Demaratus, VI. 65
- Percote, a town on the Hellespont taken by the Persians in the Ionic revolt against Darius, V. 117
- Perdiccas, V. 22; his escape from Lebaea and establishment of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, VIII. 137-139
- Pergamum, the ancient citadel of Troy, Xerxes' visit to it, VII. 43
- Pergamus, a Thracian fort, Xerxes' route past it, VII. 112
- Perialla, a Delphian priestess, deprived of her office for fraud, VI. 66
- Periander, despot of Corinth, son of Cypselus, his warning to Thrasybulus, I. 20; reception of the minstrel Arion, I. 23, 24; his quarrel with his son, and revenge upon the Corcyraeans, III. 48-53; his tyranny and cruelty, V. 92; his reconcilment of Athens and Mytilene, V. 95
- Pericles of Athens, his Alcmeonid parentage, VI. 131
- Perilaus, a Sicyonian leader killed at Mycale, IX. 103
- Perinthus, an European town on the Propontis, IV. 90; its war with the Paeonians and conquest by the Persians, V. 1, 2; burnt by Phoenicians, VI. 33
- Perioeci, Laconians inferior in status to the Spartans, their attendance at royal funerals, VI. 58; their contingent in the Spartan army, IX. 11
- Perphereës (= carriers), officials at Delos, their connection with the story of communication between Delos and the Hyperboreans, IV. 33
- Perrhaebi, a Thessalian tribe, Xerxes' passage through their country from Macedonia, VII. 128, 131, 173; in Xerxes' army, VII. 185
- Perses, son of Perseus, the eponymous hero of the Persians, VII. 61, 150
- Perseus, son of Danaë, VII. 61, 150; his supposed Egyptian

## INDEX

- origin and temple at Chemmis, II. 91; Persian belief that he was an Assyrian, VI. 53, 54; "Perseus' watchtower" alleged to be in the west of the Delta, II. 15
- Persians: their stories of Greek wrong-doing, I. 1-5; conquest of Lydia, I. 75-85; liberation from the Medes, I. 123-130; Persian tribes, I. 125; customs, I. 131-140, VI. 58, 59, IX. 110; hostilities against Ionians, I. 154-177; capture of Babylon, I. 188-191; campaign against Massagetae, I. 201-214; against Egypt, II. 1; Persians under Cambyses and Darius, see abstract of Book III, specific reff.; Persian judges, III. 31; freedom of Persia from taxation, III. 97; its geographical situation, IV. 37; Persian campaign in Scythia, IV. 1, 83-142; Persians in Libya, IV. 200-205. General history of Persian doings in remaining Books, see abstracts in Introductions to Vols. III and IV. Specific reff. in later books: origin of Persians, VI. 53, 54, VII. 61, 150; Persian council, VII. 8; armour, VII. 61; Persian and Spartan customs compared, VI. 58, 59; Cyrus' counsel to the Persians, IX. 122
- Persidae, Achaemenid kings of Persia so called, I. 125
- Petra, a deme or district of Corinth, V. 92
- Phaedyne, daughter of Otanes, her discovery about the pseudo-Smerdis, III. 68, 69
- Phaenippus, an Athenian, father of Callias, VI. 121
- Phagres, a Pierian fort in Thrace, Xerxes' route past it, VII. 112
- Phalerum, a port of Attica, V. 116; scene of a battle between the Pisistratids and the Spartans, V. 63; destroyed by Aeginetans, V. 81; Xerxes' fleet there, VIII. 66, IX. 32; flight of Persian ships thither, VIII. 91
- Phanagoras, a man of Carystus, VII. 214
- Phanes, a Halicarnassian, his desertion from Amasis to Cambyses and its punishment, III. 4, 11
- Pharae, a town in Achaea, I. 145
- Pharandates, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 79; story of his Greek concubine, IX. 76
- Pharbaïthite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 166
- Pharnaces, a Persian, father of Artabazus, VII. 66 *et al.*
- Pharnaspes, a Persian, father of Otanes, and of Cyrus' wife Cassandane, II. 1, III. 2, 68
- Pharnazathres, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 65
- Pharnuches, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, his accident at Sardis, VII. 88

## INDEX

- Phaselis, a Dorian town of Asia Minor, its part in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, II. 178
- Phasis, a river in Colchis at the E. end of the Euxine, IV. 37; the Argonauts there, I. 2; distance from the Palus Macotis, I. 104; Sesostri's army there, II. 103; boundary of Europe and Asia, IV. 45
- Phaëllus of Croton, a victor in the Pythian games, captain of the one ship from Sicily or Italy in the Greek fleet, VIII. 47
- Phegeus, an ancestor of kings of Tegea, IX. 26
- Pheneüs, a town in Arcadia near the "water of Styx," VI. 74
- Pherendates, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 67
- Pheretime, wife of Arcesilaus, her banishment from Cyrene and appeal to Cyprus, IV. 162; to Persia, IV. 165, 167; her revenge and death, IV. 202, 205
- Pheros, king of Egypt, son of Sesostri, his blindness and its cure, II. 111
- Phidippides, an Athenian messenger to Sparta, his vision of Pan, VI. 105
- Phidon, despot of Argos, father of Leocedes, VI. 127
- Phigalea, a town in Arcadia; a seer from it, VI. 83
- Philæus, son of Aias, an Athenian, ancestor of Miltiades, VI. 35
- Philagrus of Eretria, his betrayal of that place to the Persians, VI. 101
- Philaon, a Cyprian in Xerxes' fleet, his capture by the Greeks, VIII. 11
- Philes, a Samian, III. 60
- Philippus, (1) king of Macedonia, son of Argæus, VIII. 139.  
(2) A man of Croton, son of Butacides, his victory at Olympia, physical beauty, and death with Dorieus in Sicily, V. 47
- Philistus, his foundation of a temple of Demeter near Mycale, IX. 97
- Philiton, a shepherd alleged by the Egyptians to have built the Pyramids, II. 128
- Philocyon, a Spartan distinguished in the battle of Plataea, IX. 71, 85
- Philocyprus, a Cyprian of Soli, a friend of Solon, V. 113
- Phla, an island in the Tritonis lake in Libya, IV. 178
- Phlegra, ancient name of Pallene, VII. 123
- Phlius, a town in Argolis, its contingent at Thermopylae, VII. 202; at Plataea, IX. 28, 31; losses in the latter battle, IX. 69, 85
- Phocæa, an Ionian seaport in Lydia, I. 142; Phocæan enter-



## INDEX

- prise in the western Mediterranean, i. 163; town captured by Persians, i. 164; flight of Phocaeans to Corsica, and their adventures there, i. 165, 166; Phocaeans at Naucratis, ii. 178; in the Ionian fleet against Darius, vi. 8
- Phocians, their fortification of Thermopylae, vii. 176; contingent with Leonidas, vii. 203; Phocian guard on the path Anopaea, vii. 217, 218; Phocian feud with Thessaly, viii. 27-30; Phocis overrun by Persians, viii. 31-33; courage of a Phocian contingent in Mardonius' army, ix. 17; Artabazus' flight to Phocis, viii. 66 (other reff. not important)
- Phoebus, see Apollo.
- Phoenicians, their abduction of Io, i. 1, 5; Phoenician cult of Aphrodite in Cythera, i. 105; Phoenicians still independent temp. Croesus, i. 143; their temple of Heracles in Thasos, ii. 44; abduction of priestesses from Egypt, ii. 54; circumcision, ii. 104; settlement at Memphis, ii. 112; reliance of Persia on Phoenician ships, iii. 19; their images, iii. 37; tribute to Persia, iii. 91; trade between Arabia and Greece, iii. 107, 111; circumnavigation of Africa, iv. 42; Phoenician writing in Greece, v. 57, 58, *cp.* ii. 49; ships in Cyprian revolt, v. 108, 112; in Ionian revolt, vi. 6, 14, 25, 28; attack on Hellespontian towns, vi. 33; pursuit of Miltiades, vi. 41; Phoenician mines in Thasos, vi. 47; work at the Athos canal, vii. 23; Phoenician bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 34; excellence of their ships, vii. 44, 96; their original home on the Persian gulf, vii. 89; Phoenicians' blame of Ionians at Salamis, viii. 90; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 100. Phoenicians of Libya, ii. 32, iv. 197; defeat of Greek colonists in Sicily, v. 46; attack on Gelon there, vii. 165, 167 (other less important reff.)
- Phoenix, a stream near Thermopylae, vii. 176, 200
- Phormus, an Athenian trierarch, his escape from the Persians, vii. 182
- Phraortes, (1) a Median, father of Deïoces, i. 96. (2) King of Media, son of Deïoces, i. 73; his defeat and death at the hands of the Assyrians, i. 102
- Phratagune, one of Darius' wives, vii. 224
- Phriconian, name of Cyme in Mysia, i. 149
- Phrixae, a town in the west of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
- Phrixus, son of Athamas, the legend of his fate at Alus, vii. 197

## INDEX

- Phronime, daughter of Etearchus of Crete, the plot against her life, and her escape, iv. 154, 155
- Phrygia, antiquity of the Phrygians proved by Psammetichus, ii. 2; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; "Royal road" through Phrygia, v. 52; exiled Paeonians settled there, v. 98; Xerxes' route through Phrygia, vii. 26, 30; Phrygians in Xerxes' army, vii. 73; their European origin, i. 6; in Mardonius' army, ix. 32
- Phrynon, a Theban, ix. 16
- Phryrichus, the Athenian tragedian, his play "Capture of Miletus" suppressed, vi. 21
- Phthiotis, in northern Greece, earliest home of the Dorians, i. 56; its submission to Xerxes, vii. 132
- Phthius, a legendary personage, son of Achaeus, ii. 98
- Phya, an Athenian woman caused by Pisistratus to impersonate Athene, i. 60
- Phylacus, (1) a Delphian hero, his supposed aid against the Persians, viii. 39. (2) A Samian trierarch on the Persian side at Salamis, viii. 85
- Phyllis, a district of Thrace, on the Strymon, vii. 113
- Pierēs, a Thracian tribe, mines in their country, vii. 112; in Xerxes' army, vii. 185
- Pieria, a district of Macedonia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 131, 177; pitch from thence, iv. 195
- Pigres, (1) brother of Mantyes, *q.v.*, v. 12. (2) A Carian officer in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98
- Pilorus, a town on the Singitic gulf west of Athos, vii. 122
- Pindar, the poet, quoted ("Custom is the lord of all"), iii. 38
- Pindus, (1) a Thessalian town, an early home of the Dorians, i. 56, viii. 93. (2) A mountain range on the W. frontier of Thessaly, vii. 129
- Piraeus, one of the ports of Athens, at the eastern end of Xerxes' line at the battle of Salamis, viii. 85
- Pirene, a spring at Corinth, v. 92
- Pirus, a river in Achaea, i. 145
- Pisa, a town in Elis, its distance from Athens, ii. 7
- Pisistratus, (1) the son of Nestor of Pylus, v. 65. (2) Despot of Athens; his seizure of power, i. 59; expulsion and return, i. 60; second retirement and return, and use of his power, i. 61-64, vi. 35. (Elsewhere as a patronymic.) For the Pisistratidae, see Hippias and Hipparchus, also v. 63-65;

## INDEX

- their expulsion from Athens, at Xerxes' court, VII. 6; their attempt to induce Athens to surrender, VIII. 52
- Pistyrus, a town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, VII. 109
- Pitana, (1) an Aeolian town in Mysia, I. 149. (2) A Spartan township, III. 55; a "Pitanate battalion" in the Lacedaemonian army at Plataea, IX. 53 (see Amompharetus)
- Pithagoras, despot of Selinus, deposed, V. 46
- Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the Seven Sages, his advice to Croesus, I. 27
- Pixodarus of Cindya, his advice to the Carians on choice of a battlefield, V. 118
- Placia, a town of Pelasgian origin on the Hellespont, I. 57
- Plataeae (or Plataea), burnt by the Persians, VIII. 50; *passim* in IX. in connection with military operations there (16-88). Plataeans, their first alliance with Athens, VI. 108; at Marathon, VI. 111, 113; refusal to "medize," VII. 132, VIII. 66; (later) Theban attack on their town, VII. 233; in the Greek fleet, VIII. 1; but not at Salamis, VIII. 44; their envoys to Sparta, IX. 7; in Pausanias' army, IX. 28, 31
- Platea, an island (modern Bomba) off Libya, occupied by the earliest colonists of Cyrene, IV. 151-153, 156, 169
- Pleistarchus, king of Sparta, Pausanias' ward and son of Leonidas, IX. 10
- Pleistorus, a god of the Thracian Apsinthians, sacrifice of a Persian to him, IX. 119
- Plinthinete bay, on the coast of Egypt, near (the later) Alexandria, II. 6
- Plynus, a Libyan harbour (modern Gulf of Sollum), near the west of Egypt, IV. 168
- Poeicles, a Phoenician, ancestor of the inhabitants of Thera, IV. 147
- Pogon, the port of Troezen, rendezvous for Greek ships before Salamis, VIII. 42
- Poliades, a Spartan, father of Amompharetus, IX. 53
- Polichne, in Chios, a stronghold of Histiaeus, VI. 26
- Polichnitae, a people of Crete, VII. 170
- Polyas of Anticyra, a messenger between the Greeks at Artemisium and Leonidas, VIII. 21
- Polybus, an ancient king of Sicyon, V. 67
- Polycrates, despot of Samos, son of Aeaces, his friendship with Amasis, II. 182, III. 39, 40; his successes and alarming good luck, III. 39-43; his war with Lacedaemon, III. 44-46, 54-56;

## INDEX

- induced to leave Samos, and murdered by Oroetes, III. 120-125
- Polycritus, (1) an Aeginetan, VI. 50. (2) Grandson of the above, his taunt to Themistocles at Salamis, VIII. 92
- Polydamna, wife of Thon of Egypt, her gifts to Helen mentioned in the *Odyssey*, II. 116
- Polydectes, a king of Sparta, VIII. 131
- Polydorus, (1) son of Cadmus, V. 59. (2) A king of Sparta, VII. 204
- Polymnestus of Thera, father of the first Battus, IV. 150, 155
- Polynices, son of Oedipus of Thebes, IV. 147, VI. 52, IX. 27
- Pontus, see Euxine.
- Porata (or Pyretus), a tributary of the Danube, probably the Pruth, IV. 48
- Poseidon, unknown to the Egyptians, II. 43, 50; the channel of the Peneus his work, VII. 129; his cult at Mycale, I. 148; in Greece, VII. 192, VIII. 55, 123, 129, IX. 81; in Libya, IV. 180, 188; in Scythia (as Thagimasadas), IV. 59
- Poseidonia (Paestum, in Italy), information given by a man of that place to exiled Phocaeans, I. 167
- Poseidonius, a Spartan distinguished at Plataea, IX. 71
- Posideïum, (1) a town on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, III. 91. (2) A town in Thrace, VII. 115
- Potidaea, a town in Pallene, VII. 123; besieged by Artabazus but not taken, VIII. 128, 129; Potidaeans in Pausanias' army, IX. 28, 31
- Praesii, a Cretan people, VII. 170
- Prasiad lake, in Paeonia, description of lake-dwellings there, V. 16
- Prexaspes, (1) a Persian, Cambyses' agent, employed by him to murder Smerdis, III. 30, 34, 62-65; his confession and suicide, III. 74, 75. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Aspathines, VII. 97
- Prexilaus, a man of Halicarnassus, IX. 107
- Prexinus, captain of a Troezenian ship captured by the Persians, VII. 180
- Priam of Troy, I. 3; probability of his giving up Helen, II. 120; his citadel, VII. 43
- Priene, an Ionian town in Caria, I. 142; taken by Lydians, I. 15; by Persians, I. 161; its ships in the Ionian fleet, VI. 8
- Prinetades, a Spartan, Cleomenes' father-in-law, V. 41
- Procles, (1) one of the twin brothers whence the dual kingship

## INDEX

- at Sparta began, iv. 147, vi. 52, viii. 131. (2) Despot of Epidaurus, father-in-law of Periander of Corinth, iii. 50-52
- Proconnesus, a town on the Propontis, iv. 14; burnt by Phoenicians, vi. 33
- Promeneia, a priestess at Dodona, Herodotus' informant about the connection between Dodona and Egypt, ii. 55
- Prometheus, the legendary fire-stealer, the continent of Asia called after his wife, iv. 45
- Pronaea, title of Athene at Delphi, i. 92, viii. 39
- Propontis, its measurements, iv. 85; Persian operations near it, v. 122
- Prosopitis, an island in the Delta, ii. 41; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 165
- Protesilaus, the first Greek to fall in the Trojan war; his temple at Elaeus desecrated by Artaÿctes, vii. 33, ix. 116, 120
- Proteus of Memphis, king of Egypt, ii. 112; his reception of Paris and Helen, ii. 115
- Protothyes, a king of Scythia, i. 103
- Prytanis, a Spartan king, viii. 131
- Psammenitus, king of Egypt, son of Amasis, his defeat by Cambyses, iii. 10, 11; his behaviour in Cambyses' presence, iii. 14; his life spared, iii. 15
- Psammetichus, king of Egypt, son of Necos, his prevention of a Scythian invasion, i. 105; his inquiry into the antiquity of nations, ii. 2; into the depth of the Nile source, ii. 28; his frontier guards, ii. 30; banishment and restoration, ii. 151, 152; buildings at Memphis, and concessions to Greeks there, ii. 153, 154
- Psammis, king of Egypt, son of Necos, his opinion of the Olympic games, ii. 160
- Psylli, a Libyan tribe, their destruction by a sand-storm, iv. 173
- Psyttalea, an islet between Salamis and Attica, Persians posted there to intercept the Greeks in the battle of Salamis, viii. 76; their fate, viii. 95
- Pteria, in Cappadocia (probably modern Boghaz Keui), taken by Croesus, i. 76
- Ptoûm, a temple of Apollo (hence Apollo Ptoûs), near Thebes in Boeotia, oracle there consulted by Mardonius, viii. 135
- Pylae, synonym for Thermopylae, vii. 201
- Pylaea, place of meeting (vii. 213) of the
- Pylagorî (*ib.*), representatives of the "Amphictyonic" league



## INDEX

- of twelve states in N.E. Greece; their action in regard to Epialtes, vii. 213
- Pylus (1) in Messenia, vii. 168. (2) In Elis, ix. 34. Pylians, descendants of Nestor of Pylus, Pisistratus of that family, v. 65; Caucones called Pylians, i. 147
- Pyrene, according to Herodotus a town of the Celts in western Europe, source of the Danube said to be there, ii. 33
- Pyretus, see Porata.
- Pyrgus, a town in western Greece founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
- Pythagoras, (1) the philosopher, son of Mnesarchus, Pythagorean and Orphic belief, ii. 81; Zalmoxis his slave, iv. 95. (2) A Milesian, put in charge of Miletus by Aristagoras, v. 126
- Pytheas, (1) an Aeginetan, son of Ischenoüs, his bravery, and attention paid him by the Persians, vii. 181; his return to Aegina, viii. 92. (2) An Aeginetan (apparently not the same as 1), father of Lampon, ix. 78
- Pythermus, a Phocaeen, spokesman at Sparta for Ionian and Aeolian envoys, i. 152
- Pythes, a man of Abdera, vii. 137
- Pythian priestess, see Delphi.
- Pythians, Spartan officials for communication with Delphi, their privileges, vi. 57
- Pythius, a Lydian, his offer of his wealth to Xerxes, vii. 27-29; his request to Xerxes and its consequence, vii. 38, 39
- Pytho, a synonym for Delphi, i. 54
- Pythogenes, brother of the despot of Zancle, his imprisonment by Hippocrates, vi. 23
- Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt, story of the theft of his treasure, ii. 121
- Rhegium, in southern Italy, i. 166, vi. 23; its disaster in battle, vii. 170
- Rhenaëa, an island near Delos, vi. 97
- Rhodes, i. 174; its part in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178; Rhodian colonists in Sicily, vii. 153
- Rhodope, a mountain range in Thrace, source of a tributary of the Danube, iv. 49; flight thither of a Bisaltian king, viii. 116
- Rhodopis, a Thracian courtesan in Egypt, her offerings at Delphi, ii. 134, 135
- Rhoecus, a Samian, builder of the Heraeum at Samos, iii. 60

## INDEX

Rhoeteum, a town in the Troad, vii. 43

Rhypes, a town in Achaea, i. 145

Sabacos, king of Ethiopia, his rule of Egypt, ii. 137, 139, 152

Sabyllus, a man of Gela, his killing of Cleandrus, vii. 154

Sacae, a tribe in the N.E. of the Persian empire, vii. 9; Cyrus' designs against them, i. 153; tribute to Persia, iii. 93; at Marathon, vi. 113; in Xerxes' army, vii. 64; as marines in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 184; with Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 31; their cavalry there, ix. 71; Masistes' design for a rebellion of the Sacae, ix. 113

Sadyattes, king of Lydia, his war with Miletus, i. 18

Sagartii, a Persian tribe, i. 125; tribute to the empire, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 85

Sais, a town in the Delta, the temple scribe there, ii. 28, *cp* ii. 130; worship of "Athene," ii. 59, 62; Apries' palace there, ii. 163; Saïte province, ii. 152; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 165; Amasis' addition to the temple, ii. 175; Cambyses' treatment of Amasis' body at Sais, iii. 16; Saïtic mouth of the Nile, ii. 17

Salamis, (1) island off Attica, Cyprian colonists from thence, vii. 90; Delphian oracle respecting it, vii. 141; Greek fleet there, viii. 40-97 (many reff. in these chapters to Salamis, in respect of debates there, and the battle itself); return of Greeks to Salamis after cruising in the Aegean, vii. 121; Athenians still at Salamis, ix. 4-6; their return to Attica, ix. 19. (2) A town in Cyprus, flight of Pheretime thither, iv. 162; Salamis in the Cyprian revolt, v. 104, 108; battle near it, v. 110; desertion of Salaminians to the Persians, v. 113; restoration of the king of Salamis, v. 115

Sale, a Samothracian fort near Doriscus, vii. 59

Salmoxis (or Zalmoxis), a teacher of belief in immortality, deified by the Getae, iv. 94; his possible connection with Pythagoras, iv. 95, 96

Salmydessus, in Thrace, on the Euxine, its submission to Darius, iv. 93

Samius, a Spartan, son of Archias, so called in commemoration of his father's honours won in Samos, iii. 55

Samos, island and town, Samians' alleged theft from Spartans, i. 70; an Ionian settlement, i. 142; temple of Here there, ii. 148, 182, iii. 60; Samian share in the settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178; Polycrates' despotism in Samos, iii. 39, 40;

## INDEX

- Lacedaemonian attack on Samos, III. 44-46, 54-59; Samian aqueduct, III. 60; fate of Polycrates, III. 120-123; conquest of Samos by Persians, III. 142-149; Salmoxis at Samos, IV. 95; flight of Arcesilaus thither, IV. 162; Samian bravery against the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, V. 112; desertion to the Persians of all except eleven of the sixty Samian ships in the Ionian revolt, VI. 8, 14; Samian colonists in Sicily, VI. 22-25; distinction at Salamis of Samians in the Persian fleet, VIII. 85; vague Greek ideas about the distance of Samos, VIII. 132; Samian envoys to Greeks before Mycale, IX. 90-92; disloyalty of Samians to Persia, IX. 99-103; reception into the Greek confederacy, IX. 106 (other reff. less important)
- Samothrace, an island south of Thrace, VI. 47; its Pelasgian inhabitants, II. 51; exploit of a Samothracian ship at Salamis, VIII. 90; Samothracian forts on the mainland, VII. 59, 108
- Sanacharibus, king of Assyria, his invasion of Egypt and the destruction of his army, II. 141
- Sandanis, a Lydian, his advice to Croesus not to make war on Persia, I. 71
- Sandoces, a Persian, his punishment and release by Darius, and subsequent capture by the Greeks, VII. 194
- Sane, a town on the isthmus of the peninsula of Athos, VII. 22, 123
- Sapaei, a Thracian tribe, on Xerxes' route, VII. 110
- Sappho, the poetess, her satire on her brother Charaxus, II. 135
- Sarangae, a people of northern Persia, their tribute, III. 93; in Xerxes' army, VII. 67
- Sardanapallus, king of Ninus, the theft of his treasures, II. 150
- Sardis, Croesus' capital of Lydia, its kings, I. 7; its capture by Cimmerians, I. 15; Lacedaemonian envoys there, I. 69; Sardis besieged by Cyrus, I. 80; taken, I. 84; Cyrus at Sardis, I. 141; town attacked by Lydian rebels, I. 154; road from Sardis to Smyrna, II. 106; Cadytis nearly as large as Sardis, III. 5; Oroetes at Sardis, III. 126-128; Asiad tribe there, IV. 45; Darius there, V. 11; seat of Persian governor, V. 31, 73, 96, VI. 1; distance from Sardis to Susa, V. 53; Sardis attacked and burnt by Ionians and Athenians, V. 99-102; Histiaeus there, VI. 1; disaffection of Persians at Sardis, VI. 4; Alcmeon there, VI. 125; Xerxes and his army at Sardis, VII. 32, 37; portent seen there, VII. 57; Pharnuches' misfortune there, VII. 88; Xerxes' return thither, VIII. 117, IX. 3; Persians' flight to Sardis after Mycale, IX. 107; Xerxes' amours there, IX. 108 (other reff. not important)

## INDEX

- Sardo (Sardinia), designs of the Ionians to migrate thither, i. 170, v. 124; Histiaeus' promise to conquer it for Xerxes, v. 106; Sardinians among the invaders of Sicily, against Gelon, vii. 165
- Sarpedon, Minos' brother, his banishment by Minos and his rule in Lycia, i. 173
- Sarpedonia, a headland in Thrace, vii. 58
- Sarte, a town on the Singitic gulf W. of Athos, vii. 122
- Saspires, a people between Colchis and Media, i. 104, 110, iv. 37, 40; their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 79
- Sataspes, a Persian, his attempt to circumnavigate Africa, iv. 43
- Satrae, a Thracian tribe, their mines and places of divination, vii. 110-112
- Sattagydae, a people in the Persian empire, perhaps in Afghanistan, their tribute, iii. 91
- Saulius, a Scythian king, Anacharsis killed by him, iv. 76
- Sauromatae, a people immediately E. of the Palus Maeotis, iv. 21, 57; their conflict and reconciliation with the Amazons, iv. 110-117; their part in the campaign against Darius, iv. 122, 128, 136
- Scaeus, a Theban, his dedication of a tripod, v. 60
- Scamander, a river in the Troad, v. 65; on Xerxes' route, vii. 43
- Scamandronymus, a Mytilenaeon, ii. 135
- Scapte Hyle, in Thrace opposite Thasos, gold-mines there, vi. 46
- Sciathus, an island off Magnesia, naval operations there, vii. 176, 179, 182, viii. 7
- Scidrus, a town on the W. coast of Italy, a place of refuge for the exiled Sybarites, vi. 21
- Scione, a town on the promontory of Pallene, vii. 123; in the local confederacy, viii. 128
- Sciras, a title of Athene in Salamis, her temple there, viii. 94
- Scironid road, along the isthmus of Corinth, destroyed by the Greeks, viii. 71
- Sciton, servant of the physician Democedes, iii. 130
- Scolopoi, a place near Mycale, ix. 97
- Scoloti, ancient name of Scythians, iv. 6
- Scolus, near Thebes in Boeotia, ix. 15
- Scopadae, a Thessalian family, vi. 127
- Scopasis, a leader in the Scythian army against Darius, iv. 120, 128
- Scylace, a town on the Hellespont, its Pelasgian origin, i. 57

## INDEX

- Scylax, (1) a man of Caryanda, his navigation of the Indus and the eastern seas, iv. 44. (2) A man of Myndus, his maltreatment by Megabates, v. 33
- Scyles, a king of Scythia, his adoption of Greek customs and his consequent fate, iv. 78-80
- Scyllias of Scione, his exploits as a diver, viii. 8
- Scyros, an island in the Aegean E. of Euboea, vii, 183
- Scythes, (1) son of Heracles and reputed ancestor of all Scythian kings, iv. 10. (2) Despot of Zancle, his imprisonment by Hippocrates, vi. 23, 24, vii. 163
- Scythians, their expulsion of Cimmerians, i. 15; quarrel with Cyaxares, i. 73; invasion of Media and conquest of "Asia," i. 103-106; Scythians subdued by Sesostris, ii. 103, 110; contempt of peaceful occupations in Scythia, ii. 167; alliance against Persia proposed to Sparta by Scythians, vi. 84; Scythians called Sacae by Persians, vii. 64. Book iv. 1-142 (relating almost wholly to Scythia and adjacent regions): iv. 1-4, Scythians' invasion of Media and troubles after their return; 5-10, early Scythian legends; 11-12, their expulsion of Cimmerians; 16-31, 46, 47, general description of Scythia and inhabitants (nomad, farming, and "royal" Scythian), and regions adjacent; 48-58, rivers of Scythia; 59-75, manners and customs; 76-80, Scythian dislike of foreign manners; 81, size of population; 99-109, geography of Scythia and description of adjacent tribes; 118-142, Scythian warfare against Darius.
- Sebennyte province of Egypt, in the Delta, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166; Sebennytic or central mouth of the Nile, ii. 17, 155
- Selinus, a town in Sicily, its occupation by one of Dorieus' followers, v. 46
- Selymbria, a Greek town near the Hellespont, vi. 33
- Semele, daughter of Cadmus and mother of Dionysus, ii. 145
- Semiramis, queen of Babylon, her embankment of the Euphrates, i. 184; gate of Babylon called after her, iii. 155
- Sepea, near Tiryns in Argolis, scene of a battle between Lacedaemonians and Argives, vi. 77
- Sepias promontory, in Magnesia, Xerxes' fleet there, vii. 183; wreck of many of his ships, vii. 188-190
- Serbonian marsh, on the eastern frontier of Egypt, ii. 6, iii. 5
- Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, Seriphians in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48



## INDEX

- Sermyle, a town on the Sithonian promontory in Chalcidice, VII. 122
- Serrheum, a promontory in Thrace near Doriscus, VII. 59
- Sesostris, king of Egypt, his conquests, II. 102–104; his monuments, II. 106; his life attempted by his brother, II. 107; canals made by him, II. 137
- Sestus, in the Thracian Chersonese, on the Hellespont, Darius' crossing there, IV. 143; Xerxes' bridge near it, VII. 33; siege and capture of Sestus by the Greeks, IX. 114–116, 119
- Sethos, king of Egypt, his deliverance from Sanacharibus' army, II. 141
- Sicania, old name of Sicily, VII. 170
- Sicas, a Lycian, VII. 98
- Sicily, Arion's design to visit it, I. 24; Dorieus in Sicily, V. 43–48; retirement thither of Dionysius of Phocaea, VI. 17; Samian exiles there, VI. 22–24; growth of Gelon's power, VII. 153–156; Carthaginian attack on Sicily defeated by Gelon, VII. 165–168
- Sicinnus, Themistocles' servant, his mission to the Persians before the battle of Salamis, VIII. 75; to Xerxes after Salamis, VIII. 110
- Sicyon, W. of Corinth, I. 145; Cleisthenes' despotism there, V. 67, 68; quarrel between Sicyon and Argos, VI. 92; Sicyonians in the Greek fleet, VIII. 1, 43; in the force at the Isthmus, VIII. 72; in Pausanias' army, IX. 28; their losses at Mycale, IX. 103
- Sidon, Paris and Helen there, II. 116; Sidon attacked by Apries, II. 161; Democedes' voyage from Sidon, III. 136; speed of Sidonian ships, VII. 44; in Xerxes' fleet, VII. 96, 99; Xerxes' Sidonian ship, VII. 100, 128; place of honour of Sidonian king in Xerxes' council, VIII. 67
- Sigeum, a town in the Troad, IV. 38; taken by Pisistratus, V. 94; retreat of the Pisistratidae thither, V. 65, 91, 94
- Sigynnae, a people north of the Danube, V. 9; other meanings of the word, *ib.*
- Silenus, a wood-deity, his alleged capture in the "garden of Midas" in Macedonia, VIII. 138; Marsyas called Silenus, VII. 26
- Simonides of Ceos, the poet, his praise of Evalcides, V. 102; his epitaphs for those fallen at Thermopylae, VII. 228
- Sindi, a people to the east of the Cimmerian Bosporus, IV. 28; at the broadest part of the Euxine, IV. 86

## INDEX

- Sindus, a town on the Thermaic gulf, on Xerxes' route, vii. 123
- Singus, a town on the Singitic gulf west of Athos, vii. 122
- Sinope, Greek town in Paphlagonia, on the S. coast of the Euxine, i. 76; distance from the Cilician coast, ii. 34; on the site of a Cimmerian settlement, iv. 12
- Siphnus, one of the Cyclades, its prosperity, iii. 57; Samian raid upon it, *ib.*; Siphnian ships in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48
- Siriopaeones, a Paeonian tribe, carried off to Asia by the Persians, v. 15
- Siris, (1) a town in Paeonia, disabled Persians left there by Xerxes, viii. 115. (2) A town in Italy, between Sybaris and Tarentum, threat of Athenians to emigrate thither, viii. 62
- Siromitres, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 68, 79
- Siromus, (1) a man of Salamis in Cyprus, v. 104. (2) A Tyrian, vii. 98
- Sisamnes, (1) a Persian judge flayed by Cambyses for injustice, v. 25. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
- Sisimaces, a Persian general in the Ionic revolt, his death in battle, v. 121
- Sitalces, king of Thrace, his bargain with the Scythians, iv. 80; his betrayal of Spartan envoys, vii. 137
- Sithonia, the central peninsula of Chalcidice, vii. 122
- Siuph, in Egypt, the native town of Amasis, ii. 172
- Smerdis, (1) son of Cyrus, Cambyses' dream about him, iii. 30; his murder, *ib.*; his daughter married to Darius, iii. 88. (All other mentions in Book III refer to Smerdis' murder and his impersonation by his namesake.) (2) A Magian, his impersonation of Cyrus' son Smerdis and usurpation, iii. 61; popularity of his government of Persia, iii. 67; discovery of the truth, iii. 69; his death at the hands of the seven conspirators, iii. 78, 79
- Smerdomenes, a Persian, son of Otanes, one of the generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121
- Smila, a town on the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123
- Smindyrides of Sybaris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
- Smyrna, in Lydia, attacked by Gyges, i. 14; taken by Alyattes, i. 16; its transference from Aeolians to Ionians, i. 149, 150, road from Sardis to Smyrna, ii. 106
- Socles, a Corinthian envoy, his story of Corinthian despotism, v. 92

## INDEX

- Sogdi, a people in the Persian empire, E. of the Oxus, their tribute, III. 93; in Xerxes' army, VII. 66
- Soli, a town in Cyprus, its part in the Cyprian revolt, v. 110; siege and capture by the Persians, v. 115
- Solois, a promontory at the western extremity of Libya (perhaps Cape Spartel), II. 32, IV. 43
- Solon, his Athenian legislation, I. 29, II. 177; his visit to Croesus, I. 29-33; his praise of a Cyprian ruler, v. 113
- Solyimi, inhabitants of what was later Lycia, I. 173
- Sophanes, an Athenian, his exploits in Aegina, VI. 92, IX. 75; at Plataea, IX. 74
- Sosimenes, a man of Tenos, VIII. 82
- Sostratus, an Aeginetan, his commercial success, IV. 152
- Spaco, Cyrus' Median foster-mother, I. 110
- Spargapises, son of Tomyris queen of the Massagetae, his capture by Cyrus and his suicide, I. 211-213
- Spargapithes, (1) king of the Agathyrsi, his murder of a Scythian king, IV. 78. (2) A king of Scythia, IV. 76
- Sparta, see Lacedaemon
- Spercheus, a river in Malis, near Thermopylae, VII. 198, 228
- Sperthias, one of the two Spartans who volunteered to surrender themselves to Xerxes as atonement for the killing of Persian heralds, VII. 134
- Sphendalae, a deme in northern Attica, on Mardonius' route into Boeotia, IX. 15
- Stagirus, a Greek town in Chalcidice, on Xerxes' route, VII. 115
- Stentorid lake, in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, VII. 58
- Stenyclerus, in Messenia, scene of a battle between Spartans and Messenians, IX. 64
- Stesagoras, (1) grandfather of Miltiades the younger, VI. 34, 103. (2) Grandson of (1), VI. 103; his murder, VI. 38
- Stesenor, despot of Curium in Cyprus, his desertion to the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, v. 113
- Stesilaus, an Athenian general killed at Marathon, VI. 114
- Stratopeda (Camps), places on the Nile allotted by Psammetichus to Ionians and Carians, II. 154
- Strattis, despot of Chios, with Darius' Scythian expedition, IV. 138; Ionian plot against him, VIII. 132
- Struchates, a Median tribe, I. 101
- Stryme, a Thasian town in Thrace, VII. 108
- Strymon, a river in Paconia, Pisistratus' revenues thence, I. 64; Paconians from the Strymon, v. 98; Xerxes' bridge over it,

## INDEX

- vii. 24; Bithynians of Asia originally Strymonians, vii. 75; Persian defence of Eion on the Strymon, vii. 107; sacrifice offered to the river by the Magi, vii. 113; Strymonian or north wind, Xerxes' danger from it, viii. 118 (a few other unimportant reff.)
- Stymphalian lake, alleged subterranean channel from it to Argos, vi. 76
- Styreans, from Styra in S.W. Euboea, vi. 107; in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 46; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28, 31
- Styx, the water of, a mountain stream in Arcadia, supposed to communicate with the world of the dead; oath there administered by Cleomenes, vi. 74
- Sunium, the southern promontory of Attica, iv. 99; Athenian festival there, vi. 87; settlement of banished Aeginetans on Sunium, vi. 90; rounding of Sunium by Datis after Marathon, vi. 115; Greek trophy set up there, viii. 121
- Susa, the capital of the Persian kings, on the Choaspes, i. 188, v. 49; Smerdis murdered there, iii. 30; revolt against the Magi there, iii. 70 *seqq.*; Histiaeus at Susa, v. 30; end of the Royal road, v. 52; called the Memnonian, v. 54, vii. 151; Milesian captives brought thither, vi. 20; Demaratus and the Pisistratidae at Susa, vii. 3, 6; Spartans there, vii. 136; reception there of Xerxes' despatches from Greece, viii. 99; Xerxes' amours at Susa, ix. 108 (other unimportant reff. to Susa as the royal residence)
- Syagrus, Spartan envoy to Sicily, vii. 153; his reply to Gelon, vii. 159
- Sybaris, in southern Italy, attacked by Dorieus, v. 44; its capture by the Crotoniats, vi. 21; its former prosperity, vi. 127
- Syene (Assuan), alleged to be near the source of the Nile, opposite Elephantine, ii. 28
- Syennesis, (1) king of Cilicia, his reconciliation of Medians and Lydians, i. 74; his daughter, v. 118. (2) A Cilician officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 98
- Sylean plain in Thrace, near Stagirus, on Xerxes' route, vii. 115
- Syloson, banished by his brother Polycrates from Samos, iii. 39; his gift to Darius and its reward, iii. 139-141; his restoration to the government of Samos, iii. 144-149. (Elsewhere a patronymic.)
- Syme, an island near Rhodes, i. 174

# INDEX

- Syracuse, its despots comparable for splendour to Polycrates, III. 125; its seizure by Gelon, and growth under his rule, VII. 154-156; Greek envoys there, VII. 157; Amilcas of Carthage partly a Syracusan, VII. 166
- Syrgis, see Hyrgis
- Syria, its geography, II. 12, 116; many rivers there, II. 20; Syrian desert, III. 6; see also Palestine; Syrians' defeat by Egyptians, II. 159; their tribute to Persia, III. 91; Syrians of Cappadocia, I. 6; Cappadocians called Syrians by Greeks, I. 72, v. 49; invaded by Croesus, I. 76; their tribute to Persia, III. 90; in Xerxes' army, VII. 72
- Syrtis, the bay of the Libyan coast W. of Cyrene, alleged canal between it and Lake of Moeris, II. 150; silphium produced near it, IV. 169; inhabitants of its coast, II. 32, IV. 173
- Tabalus, made governor of Sardis by Cyrus, I. 153; rising of Lydians against him, I. 154
- Tabiti, a Scythian deity identified with the Greek *Hestia*, IV. 59
- Tachompsö, an alleged island in the Nile between Elephantine and Meroë, II. 29
- Taenarum, southern promontory of Laconia, Arion's arrival there on a dolphin, I. 24; Coreyraean ships' delay there, VII. 168
- Talaüs, an Argive, father of Adrastus, v. 67
- Talthybius, the Greek herald in the *Iliad*, his supposed vengeance of the death of heralds, VII. 134, 137
- Tamynae, a town in Euboea, its occupation by Datis, VI. 101
- Tanagra, a town in Boeotia, its lands occupied by Cadmus, followers, v. 57; Mardonius there, IX. 15; scene of a battle (later) between the Spartans and the Athenians and Argives, IX. 35; near the river Thermodon, IX. 43
- Tanaïs, a Scythian river (the Don), between Scythians and Sauromatae, IV. 21; its source and mouth, IV. 57, 100; crossed by Amazons and Sauromatae, IV. 116
- Tanite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, II. 166
- Taras (Tarentum), Arion's departure thence, I. 24; Tarentines' services to Democedes, III. 136; their refusal to admit a banished man, III. 138, IV. 99; Tarentines' losses in a battle with their neighbours, VII. 170
- Targitaus, by legend the earliest Scythian, son of Zeus and Borysthenes, IV. 5; a thousand years before Darius' invasion, IV. 7



## INDEX

- Taricheae (salting-places), near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, Paris' landing there, II. 113
- Tartessus, at the mouth of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), friendship of Phocaeans with its king, I. 163; Samians' voyage thither, IV. 152; Tartessian weasels, IV. 192
- Tauchira, a town in Libya near Barca, IV. 171
- Tauri, a Scythian people, in the Tauric Chersonese W. of the Palus Maeotis, their country described, IV. 99-101; their part in the campaign against Darius, IV. 102-119
- Taxacis, a leader in the Scythian armies against Darius, IV. 120
- Taygetus, the mountain range E. of Laconia, its occupation by the Minyae, IV. 145, 146
- Tearus, a Thracian river, its water praised by Darius, IV. 89-90
- Teaspis, a Persian, IV. 43, VII. 79, IX. 76
- Tegea, a town in Arcadia, varying event of its wars with Sparta, I. 66-68; Leutychides' death there, VI. 72; Phidippides' vision near Tegea, VI. 105; Tegeans at Thermopylae, VII. 202; Tegeans' claim to the post of honour in Pausanias' army, IX. 26-28; (later) victory of Spartans over Tegea and Argos, IX. 35; Tegean valour at Plataea, IX. 56, 60, 61, 62, 70
- Teïspes, two of this name in the list of Xerxes' forefathers, VII. 11 (see How and Wells, Appendix IV. 3)
- Telamon, one of the legendary heroes of Salamis, his aid invoked by the Greeks, VIII. 64
- Teleboae, an Acarnanian people, Amphitryon's defeat of them, V. 59
- Telecles, a Samian, III. 41
- Teleclus, a Spartan king, VII. 204
- Telemachus, son of Nestor, Menelaus' narrative to him, II. 116
- Telesarchus of Samos, his opposition to Maeandrius, III. 143
- Telines, his priesthood at Gela in Sicily, VII. 153
- Telliadae, a family or clan of diviners in Elis, one of them with Mardonius, IX. 37
- Tellias of Elis (perhaps of the above family), his device for a Phocian night attack on Thessalians, VIII. 27
- Tellus, an Athenian, Solon's judgment of his happiness, I. 30
- Telmessians, probably in Lycia, their prophetic answers, I. 78, 84
- Telos, an island near Rhodes, home of Telines, VII. 153
- Telys, despot of Sybaris, V. 44
- Temenus, ancestor of the Temenid family of Macedonian kings, VIII. 137

## INDEX

- Temnus, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, I. 149  
 Tempe, the valley of the Penëus in Thessaly, between Olympus and Ossa, VII. 173  
 Tenedos, an island off the Troad, an Aeolian town there, I. 151;  
   Tenedos taken by Persians in the Ionian revolt, VI. 31  
 Tenos, one of the Cyclades, a stage on the Hyperboreans' route to Delos, IV. 33; flight of Delians thither, VI. 97; desertion of a Tenian ship to the Greeks at Salamis, VIII. 82  
 Teos, an Ionian town in Lydia, I. 142; flight of Teians to Thrace, I. 168; Teos proposed as a meeting-place for Ionians, I. 170; its share in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, II. 178; Teian ships in the Ionian fleet, VI. 8  
 Teres, father of Sitacles, king of Thrace, IV. 80, VII. 137  
 Terillus, despot of Himera, his confederacy against Gelon, VII. 165  
 Termera, on the coast near Halicarnassus, its despot captured by the Ionian rebels, V. 37  
 Tamilae, an alternative name for the Lycians, I. 173  
 Tethronium, a Phocian town, burnt by the Persians, VIII. 33  
 Tetramnestus, a Sidonian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 98  
 Teucrians (Trojans), their denial of the possession of Helen, II. 118; Paeonians, V. 13, and Gergithes, V. 122, descended from them; Teucrian invasion of Europe before the Trojan war, VII. 20, 75  
 Teuthrania, at the mouth of the Caïcus in Mysia, silting up of a river bed there, II. 10  
 Thagimasadas (or Thamimasadas), a Scythian deity identified with Poseidon, IV. 59  
 Thales of Miletus, his prediction of an eclipse, I. 74; his diversion of the course of the Halys, I. 75; his advice as to a meeting-place for Ionians, I. 170  
 Thamanaei, a people probably in N.E. Persia, III. 117; their tribute, III. 93  
 Thamasius, a Persian, father of Sandoces, VII. 194  
 Thannyras, a Libyan, restored by the Persians to the government which his father Inaros had lost by rebellion, III. 15  
 Thasos, (1) off Thrace, Phoenician temple of Heracles there, II. 44; on Mardonius' route to Euboea, VI. 44; Thasians' revenues from mines, VI. 46; their expenditure on feeding Xerxes' army, VII. 118. (2) A Phoenician, said to have given the island its name, VI. 47  
 Theasides, a Spartan, his warning to the Aeginetans, VI. 85

## INDEX

- Thebe, (1) legendary daughter of Asopus and sister of Aegina, v. 80. (2) A plain in Mysia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 42
- Thebes, (1) in Upper Egypt (modern Luxor), a custom of the temple there, i. 182; Herodotus' inquiries at Thebes, ii. 3; distance from Heliopolis, ii. 9; Thebes once called Egypt, ii. 15; rules of abstinence there, ii. 42; alleged connection between the temple at Thebes and Dodona, ii. 54-56; crocodiles held sacred there, ii. 69; sacred snakes, ii. 74; Hecataeus' investigations at Thebes, ii. 143; single instance of rain at Thebes, iii. 10; Cambyses there, iii. 25; distance from Thebes of the temple of Ammon, iv. 143; Thebaïc province, Syene and Chemmis in it, ii. 28, 91; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166. (2) In Boeotia, temple of Apollo there, i. 52; Croesus' gifts there, i. 92; Theban assistance to Pisistratus, i. 61; Phœnician inscriptions at Thebes, v. 59; Theban feud with Athens, v. 79, 81-89, vi. 108; Theban recovery of an image of Apollo, vi. 118; submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; Thebans unwillingly at Thermopylae, vii. 205; Thebans and oracles of Amphiaraus, viii. 134; Theban advice to Mardonius, ix. 2; Mardonius in Theban territory, ix. 15; story of Polynices' attack on Thebes, ix. 27; proposed retreat of Persians to Thebes, ix. 58; Theban valour on Persian side, ix. 67; surrender of Thebes to Greek army, ix. 86-88
- Themis, a deity in Greece but not in Egypt, ii. 50
- Themiscyra, on the S. coast of the Euxine, breadth of the sea measured thence, iv. 86
- Themison, a Theraean trader, his bargain with Etearchus of Crete, iv. 154
- Themistocles, his interpretation of the Delphic oracle given to Athens, vii. 143; his creation of the Athenian navy, vii. 144; in command of a force in Thessaly, vii. 173; bribery of Greeks to stay at Artemisium, viii. 4; his efforts to detach Ionians from Xerxes, viii. 19, 22; advice to Greeks to stay at Salamis, viii. 56-63; secret message to Persians, viii. 75; interview with Aristides, viii. 79, 80; exhortation before Salamis, viii. 83; meeting with Polycritus of Aegina, viii. 92; his policy after Salamis, secret message to Xerxes, and extortion of money from islanders, viii. 108-112; honours paid him by Greeks after Salamis, viii. 123-125
- Theocydes, an Athenian, viii. 65
- Theodorus, a Samian artist, his work at Delphi, i. 51; for Polycrates, iii. 41

## INDEX

- Theomestor of Samos, his services to the Persians at Salamis, viii. 85; despot of Samos, ix. 90
- Theophania, a festival at Delphi, i. 51
- Theopompus, a Spartan king, viii. 131
- Thera, one of the Cyclades, once called Calliste, iv. 147; its original settlement, *ib.*; reason of its sending a colony to Libya, iv. 151; story of Battus of Thera, iv. 155; Theraeans with Dorieus in Libya, v. 42
- Therambos, a town in Pallene, vii. 123
- Therapne, near Sparta, a temple of Helen there, vi. 61
- Theras, a Cadmean of Sparta, his colonisation of Thera, iv. 147, 148
- Thermodon, (1) a river in Boeotia, near Tanagra, ix. 43. (2) A river in Cappadocia, ii. 104; near Themiscyra, iv. 86; victory on it of Greeks over Amazons, iv. 110, ix. 27
- Thermopylae, description of the pass, vii. 176, 198-200; story of the battle, vii. 210-225; visit of Persian forces to the field of Thermopylae, ix. 24, 25 (other mentions in viii. and ix. refer to the battle)
- Theron, despot of Acragas, his expulsion of Terillus from Himera, vii. 165; victory with Gelon over Carthaginian confederacy, vii. 166
- Thersandrus, (1) son of Polynices, ancestor of Theras, iv. 147, vi. 52. (2) A man of Orchomenus, his presence at a Persian banquet at Thebes, ix. 16
- Theseus, his abduction of Helen into Attica, ix. 73
- Thesmophoria, a Greek festival in honour of Demeter, in Attica in the autumn, ii. 171; its celebration by Ephesian women, vi. 16
- Thespia, a town in Boeotia, burnt by the Persians, viii. 50; Thespians allies of Thebans, v. 79; their refusal to submit to Xerxes, vii. 132; their steadfastness at Thermopylae, vii. 202, 222, 226; Sicinnus made a Thespian, viii. 75; Thespians in Pausanias' army, ix. 30
- Thesprotians, in N.W. Greece, neighbours of the Ampraciots, viii. 47; their practice of necromancy, v. 92; Thessalians from Thesprotia, vii. 176
- Thessaly, Pelasgians formerly there, i. 57; Darius' European tribute from nations east of it, iii. 96, vii. 108; Thessalian allies of Pisistratus, v. 63; Lacedaemonian invasion of Thessaly, vi. 72; Aleuadae of Thessaly at Xerxes' court, vii. 6; description of Thessaly, vii. 129; its submission to Xerxes,

## INDEX

- vii. 132; Greek force there, vii. 172, 173; danger to Phocis from Thessalians, vii. 191, 215; Xerxes' march through it, vii. 196; Thessalian cavalry inferior to Asiatic, *ib.*; defeats of Thessalians by Phocians, and Thessalian revenge, viii. 27-32; Mardonius in Thessaly, viii. 113, 133; Thessalians in his army, ix. 31; Artabazus in Thessaly, ix. 89 (other less important reff.)
- Thessalus, a Spartan companion of Dorieus, v. 46
- Theste, a spring in Libya, defeat there of Egyptians by Cyrenaeans, iv. 159
- Thetis, Magian sacrifice to her to abate a storm, vii. 191
- Thmuite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166
- Thoas, king of Lemnos, killed by women, vi. 138
- Thon, of Egypt, referred to in the Odyssey, ii. 116
- Thonis, warder of the Nile mouth, his reception of Paris, ii. 113
- Thorax, an Aleuad of Larissa, his support of Mardonius, ix. 1; Mardonius' address to him, ix. 58
- Thoricus, a deme of Attica, near Sunium, iv. 99
- Thornax, a mountain in Laconia, Apollo's temple there, i. 69
- Thrace, Phocæan migration thither, i. 168; conquest by Sesostris, ii. 103; Thracian contempt of peaceful occupations, ii. 167; Thracian rivers, iv. 49; use of hemp there, iv. 74; Darius in Thrace, iv. 89-93; population and customs of Thrace, v. 3-8; Histiaeus there, v. 23; Aristagoras killed by Thracians, v. 126; their attack on Mardonius, vi. 45; Thrace conquered by Mysians and Teucrians, vii. 20; Persian supremacy, vii. 106; Xerxes' route through Thrace, vii. 110; reverence of Thracians for road of Xerxes' army, vii. 115; Thracians in his army, vii. 185; Thracian theft of Xerxes' chariot, viii. 115; Artabazus' retreat harassed by Thracians, ix. 89; human sacrifice there, ix. 119
- Thracians of Asia (Bithynians), their conquest by Croesus, i. 28; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 75; their former migration from Thrace into Asia, *ib.*
- Thrasylbulus, despot of Miletus, his deception of Alyattes, i. 20-23; advice to Periander of Corinth, v. 92
- Thrasycles, a Samian, ix. 90
- Thrasyldeus, an Aleuad of Larissa, Mardonius' address to him, ix. 58
- Thrasylaus, an Athenian, vi. 114
- Thriasian plain, near Eleusis in Attica, Dicaeus' vision there,



## INDEX

- VIII. 65; recommended as a battle-field by the Athenians, IX. 7
- Thyia, legendary daughter of Cephissus, altar of the winds erected in her precinct (also called Thyia) at Delphi, VII. 178
- Thyni, named with Bithyni as "Thracians" in Asia, I. 28
- Thyreæ, a town taken from the Argives by the Lacedaemonians, I. 82; Cleomenes and his army there, VI. 76
- Thyssagetæ, a people N.E. of Scythia, living by hunting, IV. 22, 123
- Thyssus, a town in the peninsula of Athos, VII. 22
- Tiarantus, a northern tributary of the Danube, IV. 48
- Tibareni, a people on the S. coast of the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, III. 94; in Xerxes' army, VII. 78
- Tibisis, a southern tributary of the Danube, IV. 49
- Tigranes, son of Artabanus, an officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 62; his dictum about the Olympian games, VIII. 26 (unless "Tritantaechmes" be the right reading); his personal beauty, IX. 96; his death at Mycale, IX. 102
- Tigris, the river, I. 189; junction with the Euphrates by a canal, I. 193; Ninus on it, II. 150; V. 52; Ampe on it, VI. 20
- Timagenides, a Theban, his advice to Mardonius, IX. 38; his surrender and execution, IX. 86
- Timagoras, a Cyprian, VII. 98
- Timandrus, a Theban, IX. 69
- Timarete, a priestess at Dodona, II. 55
- Timasitheus, a Delphian ally of Isagoras at Athens, his reputation as a fighter, V. 72
- Timesius of Clazomenæ, his settlement at Abdera, I. 168
- Timo, a priestess at Paros, her attempted betrayal of a temple to Miltiades, and subsequent acquittal, VI. 134, 135
- Timodemus of Aphidnæ, his attack on Themistocles, VIII. 125
- Timon, a Delphian, his advice to the Athenians about an oracle, VII. 141
- Timonax, a Cyprian officer in Xerxes' army, VII. 98
- Timoxenus of Scione, his attempted betrayal of Potidaea, VIII. 128
- Tiryns, in Argolis, a battle near it between Argos and Sparta, VI. 77; occupied by the Argives' slaves, VI. 83; Tirynthians in Pausanias' army, IX. 28, 31
- Tisamenus, (1) an Elean diviner in the service of the Spartans, his five victories, IX. 33-35. (2) A Theban, grandson of Polynices, IV. 147, VI. 52

## INDEX

- Tisandrus, (1) an Athenian, father of Isagoras, v. 63. (2) An Athenian, father of Hippoclidcs, vi. 127
- Tisias, a Parian, vi. 133
- Titacus, a legendary Athenian, his betrayal of Aphidnae, ix. 73
- Tithaeus, a cavalry officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 88
- Tithorea, a peak of Parnassus, retreat of Delphians thither, viii. 32
- Titormus, an Aetolian, his strength and solitary habits, vi. 127
- Tmolus, a gold-producing mountain in Lydia, near Sardis, i. 84, 93, v. 100
- Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, her proposal to the invading Persians, i. 205, 206; her victory over Cyrus and revenge for her son, i. 212-214
- Torone, a town in Chalcidice, on the Sithonian peninsula, vii. 22, 122
- Trachis, the coastal region closed to the E. by Thermopylae, several unimportant ref. to it, vii. 175-226; its town of the same name, vii. 199; Xerxes' passage from Trachis into Doris, viii. 31
- Trapezus (later Trebizond), a town on the S.E. coast of the Euxine, vi. 127
- Traspies, a Scythian tribe, iv. 6
- Trausi, a Thracian tribe, v. 3
- Travus, a river in Thrace flowing into the Bistonian lake, vii. 109
- Triballic plain (in modern Serbia), iv. 49
- Triopian promontory, S.W. point of Asia Minor, i. 174, iv. 37; temple of Apollo there, i. 144
- Tritaea, a town in Achaea, i. 145
- Tritantaechnes, (1) a Persian, son of Artabazus, his governorship of Assyria, i. 192. (2) A Persian, one of the generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121
- Triteae, a Phocian town burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
- Triton, (1) a deity of the sea, his guidance of Jason, iv. 179; his cult in Libya, iv. 188. (2) An alleged river in Libya, flowing into the "Tritonid lake," iv. 178; the lake itself, *ib.*, and iv. 186 (neither river nor lake is identified)
- Troezen, in Argolis, entrusted with the island of Hydrea, iii. 59; mother-city of Halicarnassus, vii. 99; its contingent in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 43; in the force at the Isthmus, viii. 72; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28, 31; Troezenians in the battle of Mycale, ix. 102, 105

## INDEX

- Troglodytae (cave-dwellers), an Ethiopian tribe, their habits, iv. 183
- Trophonius, a Boeotian god or hero, his oracular shrine consulted by Croesus, i. 46, by Mardonius, viii. 134
- Troy and the Troad, v. 26, 122, vii. 43; Trojan war, ii. 120, 145, vii. 20, 171, ix. 27; settlements of dispersed Trojans, iv. 191, v. 13, vii. 91
- Tydeus, father of Diomedes, his slaying by Melanippus, v. 67
- Tymnes, (1) vice-gerent of Ariapithes king of Scythia, his story of Anacharsis, iv. 76. (2) A Carian, father of Histiaeus of Termera, v. 37
- Tyndareus, father of Helen, ii. 112
- Tyndaridae (Castor and Polydeuces), their voyage in the Argo, iv. 145; their images with Lacedaemonian armies, v. 75; their recovery of Helen from Attica, ix. 73
- Typhon (or Typhos), identified with the Egyptian Set, his search for Horus, ii. 156; Horus' victory, and banishment of Typhon to the Serbonian lake, ii. 144, iii. 5
- Tyras, a Scythian river (Dniester), iv. 47; Cimmerian graves by it, iv. 11; its source, iv. 51; mark of Heracles' foot on its bank, iv. 82
- Tyre, abduction of Europa thence, i. 2; temple of Heracles there, ii. 44; Tyrian settlement at Memphis, ii. 112; war between Egypt and Tyre, ii. 161; Tyrian king with Xerxes, viii. 67
- Tyrodiza, a town near Perinthus, Xerxes' commissariat there, vii. 25
- Tyrseni (Tyrrhenians, Etruscans), in central Italy, their Pelasgian neighbours, i. 57; their Lydian origin, i. 94; Tyrrhenian sea discovered by Phocaeans, i. 163; Tyrrhenian attack on Phocaeans, i. 166; Tyrrhenia a synonym for Italy, vi. 22
- Tyrsenus, leader of the Lydian settlement in Italy, i. 94
- Utii, a tribe on the Persian gulf, their tribute to Persia, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 68
- Xanthes, a Samian, his bringing of Rhodopis to Egypt, ii. 135
- Xanthippus, an Athenian, father of Pericles, vi. 131; his impeachment of Miltiades, vi. 136; Athenian general after Salamis, vii. 33, viii. 131; in command on the Hellespont, ix. 114, 120

## INDEX

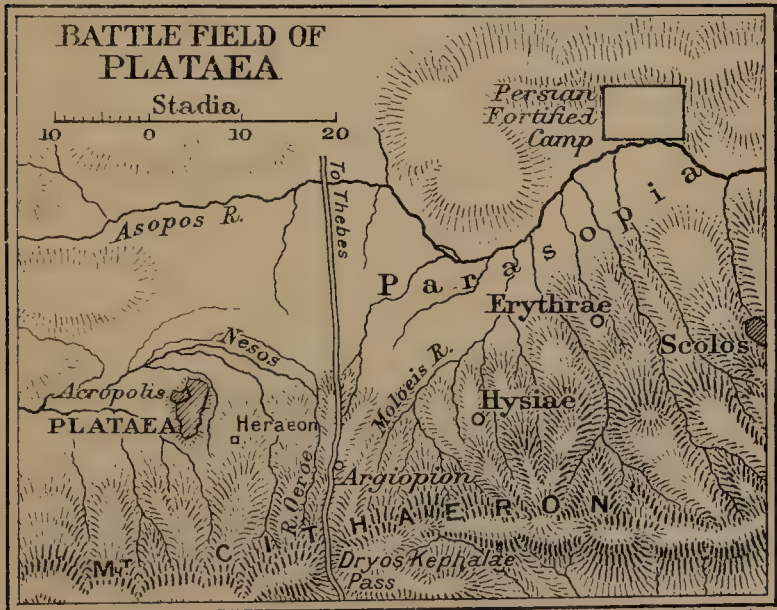
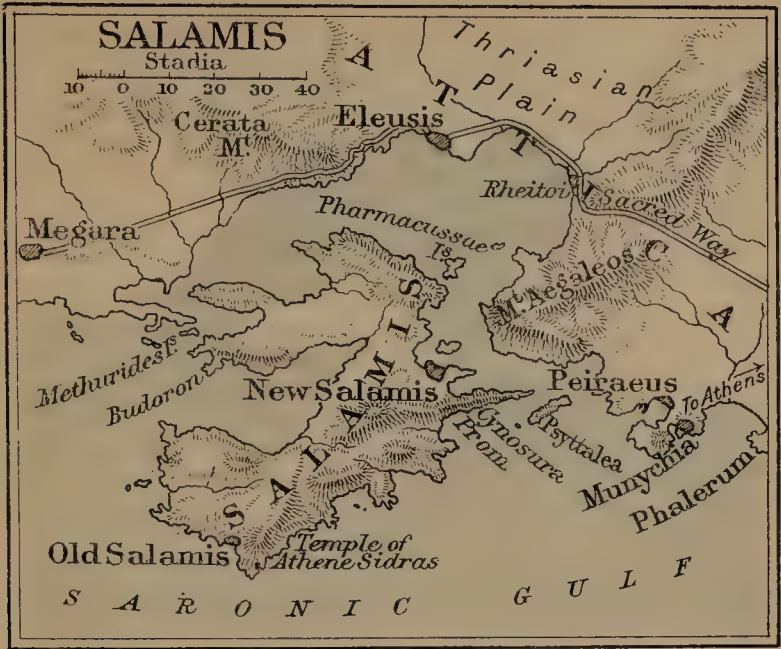
- Xanthus, a town in Lycia, resistance of the Xanthians to the Persians, and their defeat, i. 176
- Xenagoras, of Halicarnassus, made governor of Cilicia for saving the life of Masistes, ix. 107
- Xerxes: for mentions of him as leader of the Persian forces in the invasion of Greece, see the tables of contents in Introductions to Vols. III and IV of this translation. Principal references to Xerxes personally: his execution of a Babylonian priest, i. 183; of Sataspes, iv. 43; succession to the throne, vii. 2, 3; his council, and colloquies with Artabanus, vii. 8-18; treatment of Pythius, vii. 27, 28, 38, 39; scourging of the Hellespont, vii. 35; further colloquy with Artabanus, vii. 46-52; with Demaratus, vii. 101-104, 209, 234-237; Xerxes' visit to the Peneus, vii. 128-130; generosity to two Spartans, vii. 136; his personal beauty, vii. 187; vengeance on the dead Leonidas, vii. 238; advice given to Xerxes by Artemisia, viii. 68, 69; Xerxes a spectator of the battle of Salamis, viii. 88, 90; his council of war after the battle, viii. 100-102; his fear of the Greeks, viii. 203; story of his danger of shipwreck in his return, viii. 118, 119; his passion for his brother's wife and her daughter, and its consequences, ix. 108-113
- Xuthus, a legendary hero, father of Ion, vii. 94, viii. 44
- Zacynthus, west of Greece, description of a pool there, iv. 195; Demaratus' escape there, vi. 70; intended expulsion of Zacynthians by Samians, iii. 59; death of Hegesistratus in Zacynthus, ix. 37
- Zalmoxis, see Salmoxis.
- Zancle (later Messene, modern Messina), its seizure by Samians, vi. 23, vii. 164; attack by Hippocrates of Gela, vii. 154
- Zaueces, a tribe in western Libya, iv. 193
- Zeus, i. 65, 89, 131, 174, 207, ii. 13, 116, 136, 146, iii. 124, vi. 67, vii. 56, 61, 141, 221, viii. 77, ix. 122; connected with some particular place or function (Zeus Lacedaemon, Zeus Catharsius, etc.), i. 44, 171, ii. 55, 178, iii. 142, iv. 203, v. 46, 66, 119, vi. 56, 68, vii. 141, 197, ix. 7, 81; identified with foreign deities, i. 46, 131, 181-183, ii. 18, 32, 29, 42, 54, 55, 56, 74, 83, 143, iii. 158, iv. 5, 59, 127, 180, 181, vii. 40
- Zeuxidemos, son of Leutychides, king of Sparta, his early death, vi. 71
- Zopyrus, (1) a Persian, son of Megabyzus, his pretended desertion to the Babylonians, and delivery of Babylon to Darius, iii.

## INDEX

- 153-159; Darius' esteem for him, III. 160; rape of his daughter, IV. 43. (2) Grandson of the above, his migration from Persia to Athens, III. 160
- Zoster (Girdle), a promontory on the coast of Attica, rocks near it taken for ships by the Persians, VIII. 107



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